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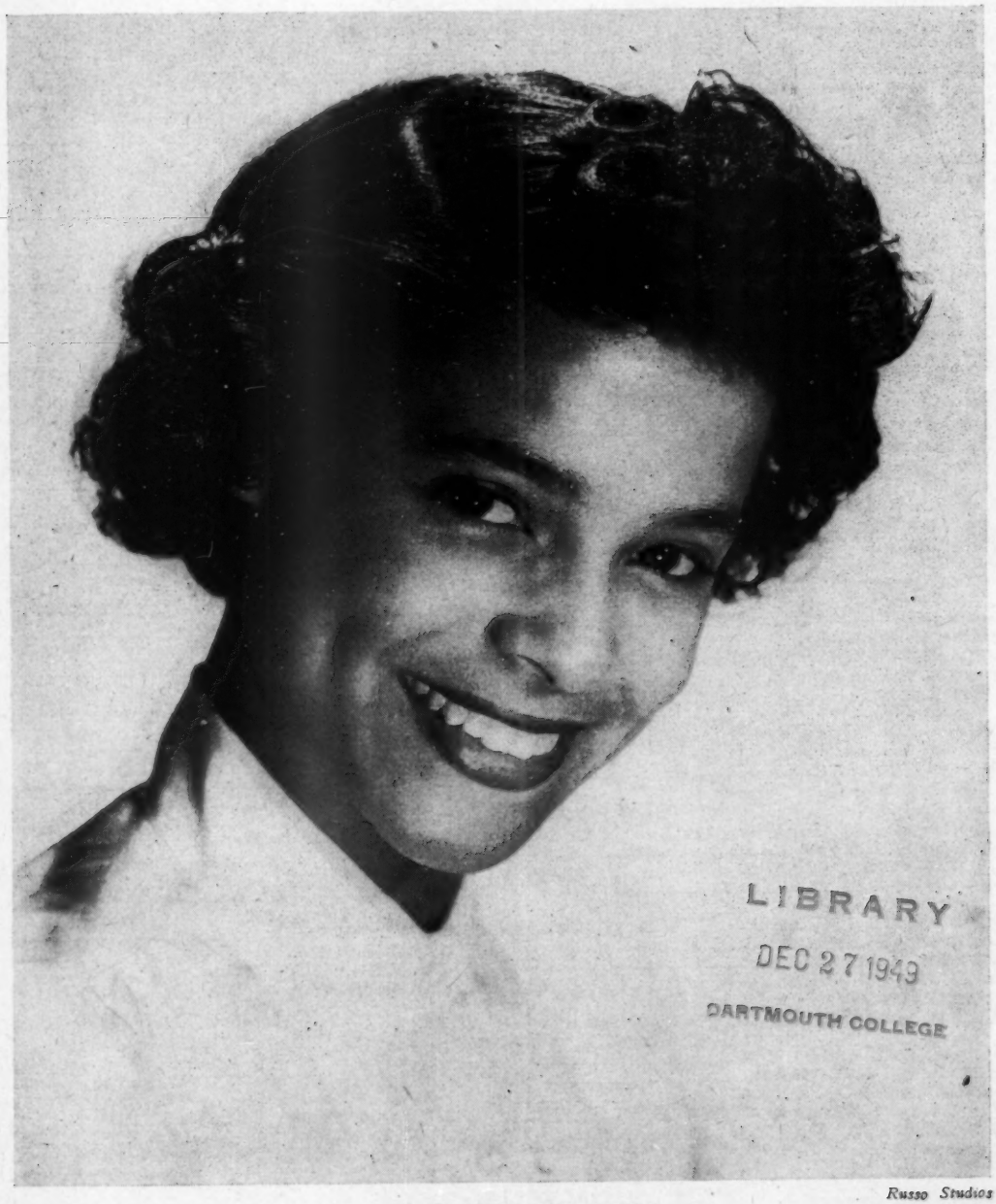

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Vol. 55, No. 5 Whole Number 449

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.*

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER — Posters in the New York City subways for April carried this card: "MEET MISS SUBWAYS, Vivacious Thelma Porter. Psychology student at Brooklyn College and part-time nurse receptionist in dentist's office. Is active in social welfare work and ardent church worker. Sings in a choral group and is a Gershwin devotee."

Nineteen-year-old Miss Porter is also president of the Brooklyn youth council of the NAACP and the first Negro to be selected by model agent John Powers in his monthly subway beauty contest.

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HUGH MORRIS GLOSTER directs the communication center at Hampton Institute, Va., and teaches English in the same institution. He authored "The Significance of Frank Yerby" in the January Crisis, and the University of North Carolina Press has just issued his *Negro Voices in American Fiction*, to be reviewed in an early issue by Arthur B. Spingarn.

•

MAX LERNER, author of the editorial on the Negro and the draft, is chief editorial writer on the New York newspaper PM. Mr. Lerner has taught political science and government at several American colleges and universities as well as authored several books in his field. In 1945 he collected a batch of his PM editorials into a book published under the title of *Public Journal*.

•

EMIL WILLIMETZ is a free-lance writer and photographer, living at present in New York City. He has been connected with the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. Most of his work has been done in the South.

•

INA SUGIHARA is research secretary, Human Relations Commission, in The Protestant Council of the City of New York. Miss Sugihara holds membership in a number of organizations engaged in race relations and the fight for civil liberties: Japanese American Citizens League, Workers Defense League, NAACP, and others.

•

HUGH AND MABEL SMYTHE, a husband and wife reviewing team, are staff book reviewers for the Pittsburgh *Courier*. Dr. Hugh Smythe is research assistant to Dr. Du Bois; his wife, who holds a Ph.D. degree in economics from the University of Wisconsin, was until recently an instructor in economics at Brooklyn College.

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COLLEGE and SCHOOL NEWS

Osborn T. Smallwood, instructor in English at HOWARD UNIVERSITY has been awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy in English by New York university. The degree was conferred as of February 24, 1948, upon completion of Dr. Smallwood's dissertation, "Theological Influences in the Prose of Ruskin."

Lester Banks, a major in nuclear physics at Howard, and George Rawls, a pre-medical student at Florida A & M college, are recipients of the 1948 PEPSI-COLA GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS. Bufordyne N. Westbrooks, a student of English at Talladega, was named first alternate in the event either of the two winners cannot use his fellowship.

Announcement comes of the death of Karl E. Downs, former president of SAMUEL HUSTON COLLEGE. During his presidency, Dr. Downs increased both the enrollment and the endowment of his college.

Principal speaker at the March 18-20 meeting of the Eastern States Association of Professional Schools for Teachers, held in New York City, was Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of CHEYNEY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE. Subject of Dr. Hill's address was "There is a Balm in Gilead."

President John W. Davis of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE announces that the state board of education of West Virginia has authorized the release of $500,000 for construction of a library at his institution.

Among recent visitors to the college campus have been Lucien Wolff, of Rennes, France; Dr. Robert M. Stewart, director of improvement of agricultural education in Negro land-grant colleges, U. S. Office of Education; and Judge James B. Riley, president of the supreme court of appeals of West Virginia, who was principal speaker for the second annual observance of Men's Day.

The Army-day program was observed at the college on April 6, with displays of guns and various army equipment as a feature of the celebration.

The college held its first annual business conference March 26-27, with a number of guest speakers and experts; among whom were Dr. Stephen Wright, dean, Hampton institute; J. B. Blayton, Atlanta university school of business; Clyde Reynolds, executive director, Provident hospital, Chicago; Lemuel Foster, executive assistant, Macy's department store, New York City; Julius A. Thomas, industrial relations secretary, National Urban League, New York City; Dallas Brown, CPA, manager Majestic hotel, Cleveland, Ohio; and Emmer M. Lancaster, advisor on Negro affairs, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

First prize of $75 in the third annual Missouri state high school feature writing contest conducted by the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY school of journalism went to Charlene Colbert, a senior in the Bartlett high school of St. Joseph. This is the second time Bartlett high has won top honors. Tied for second prizes were Betty Jean Evans, senior in the Lincoln high school, Kansas City; and Mary Wall, another senior in the Wheatley high school, Poplar Bluff. Each received $37.50 in cash.

Dr. Joseph A. Pierce, professor of mathematics and statistics at Atlanta university as well as author of the recently published *Negro Business and Business Education*, was a recent speaker on the campus in his tour of the cities and colleges included in his recent survey of Negro business and business education.

In observance of the 121st anniversary of the Negro press and the tenth annual Negro newspaper week, the Lincoln university school of journalism presented Dowdal Davis, general manager of the Kansas City *Call*, on March 4, in an address on "Free Speech—A Privilege and an Obligation."

Religious emphasis week was observed in March with the following speakers: Father Aloyius Ripper, pastor of the Emasculate Conception church, Jefferson City; Rev. E. A. Freeman, pastor of the First Baptist church, Kansas City, Kansas; Rev. Russell Brown, pastor of the St. Paul AME church, St. Louis; and Rev. C. B. Johnson, pastor Second Baptist church, Jefferson City.

The school was host in March to the two-week annual school for ministers and the eighth annual Farmers and Homes Makers conference.

Dr. H. A. Bullock, professor of sociology at Prairie View A & M college was a recent speaker before the graduate school of TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY FOR NEGROES.

O. T. SMALLWOOD

Mr. Smallwood received his Ph.D. in English from New York university last February (See first item on opposite page).

Folk music was heard and discussed at FISK UNIVERSITY'S nineteenth annual festival of music and art, April 29-May 1, in concerts by Edward Matthews and the 100-voice university choir, along with a seminar on folk music which featured three national authorities in the persons of G. Wallace Woodworth, Charles Seeger, and John Work.

Leroy Jeffries of the department of industrial relations of the National Urban League delivered the closing address to the vocational guidance program conducted by the university. The program was under the direction of Donald Wyatt, assistant professor of sociology, and was sponsored in connection with the League's sixteenth annual vocational opportunity campaign.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY graduated the largest winter class in its history in March, with 871 persons receiving doctorate, masters, and bachelor degrees. Clara A. Henderson, of Columbus, received a Ph. D. in education; and masters degrees were conferred upon Alvin Max BonDurant, of Xenia; Robert O. Greer, of Welch, W. Va.; Samella Sanders, of New Orleans; and Raymond Thomas, of Columbus.

New director of public relations at JACKSON COLLEGE is De Lars Funches. Mr. Funches was graduated from Lanier high school in 1936 and from Jackson college in 1940. He taught in

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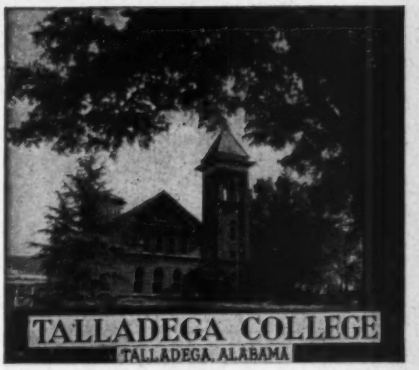

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the Monticello county training school and the Corinth colored high school of Mississippi prior to his induction into the Army.

President W. J. Trent, of LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE announces that on founder's day February 10 the leaders of the AMEZ church reported $45,056.48 in cash for his college. A new teachers' apartment has been named in honor of the late Dr. Edward E. Moore, who was for forty years professor of Latin and Greek at Livingstone.

MARYAND STATE COLLEGE is now the official name of the eastern shore school that was formerly known as *Princess Anne* college, according to an announcement made by Dr. J. T. Williams, president of the institution.

SHAW UNIVERSITY observed religious emphasis week March 9-12, with the services in charge of Rev. J. Quinton Jackson, pastor of the Mt. Zion Baptist church, Philadelphia, Pa. Finer womanhood Sunday was observed in March, with an address by Samuel E. Duncan, inspector of Negro high schools in the state of North Carolina.

Shaw played host to the annual festival of the North Carolina High School Drama Association March 13, when nine plays were presented by as many high schools of the state. Mary Hill, who played the part of Maimie in *The House of Greed*, the dramatic offering of the Booker T. Washington high school, Rocky Mount, was cited for the best performance of a feminine role; the winning prize for the best male performance went to Parnell Avery for his role as Frederic Chopin in Henderson institute's *Nocturne*.

The college honor role for the second semester lists 126 students as having attained a general average of "B." Six students made straight "A" averages for the semester: Doris M. Smith, Beatrice Larkins, Carolyn Y. Prunty, Leroy Hall, Angie Brooks, and Dorothy Lee Alston.

Theological alumni day was observed March 31, with a gathering of graduates and former students of the

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school of religion. President Robert P. Daniel completed in March a series of visits to prominent Baptists churches in New York state made under the auspices of the Northern Baptist Board of Education and the convention's council of finance and promotion. He visited churches in Fredonia, Batavia, Endicott, Glens Falls, and Troy.

John D. Silvera, former public relations director of the Sydenham hospital, was one of six students to receive the certificate of proficiency in public relations awarded in March by the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH.

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE presented the Detroit Symphony Orchestra on March 19 in its artist's recital series.

BENEDICT COLLEGE celebrated its 78th founder's day anniversary March 16, with E. Washington Rhodes, editor of the Philadelphia *Tribune*, as the principal speaker.

Charter day was observed at the COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS, Wilberforce on March 19, with addresses by Dr. John C. Baker, president of Ohio university, and Dr. Howard H. Long, assistant superintendent of schools, Washington, D. C.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY'S student conference took a stand on civil rights in a two-day meet February 27-28. Under the sponsorship of the sociology departments of Atlanta, Clark, Morehouse, and Spelman the meeting attracted more than 1500 students from local Negro and white colleges. Among the speakers at the meeting were Dr. W. W. Alexander, vice-president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse; George A. Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council; and Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta university.

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(Continued on page 154)

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Editorials

STONEWALL AGAINST AMERICA

THE group of Negro consultants which met in Washington April 26 at the invitation of Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, "to confer on racial problems related to the armed services," ran into a stonewall in their conference with Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall.

The spokesmen for the Navy appeared willing to discuss ways and means of making their official no-discrimination and no-segregation policy work. They admitted it was not perfect, that inequalities and lack of opportunity still exist, that the Marine Corps policy could be re-examined. They were able to show advances here and there, and indicated that while they intended to proceed slowly, they were aiming at eliminating segregation.

The spokesmen for the Air Force admitted they followed the Army policy (of segregation) as long as they were a part of the Army, and that they were still following it. However, they said they could form a new policy of their own, now that they are a separate department. They did not shut the door to discussion of a modified policy.

But Secretary Royall was adamant. Segregation has been, is, and will continue to be the policy, said he. He said the Gillem report had been studied by the Army general staff under General Eisenhower as Chief of Staff and recommended to him as a policy. He said the general staff under General Bradley had recommended the same thing. "But," said he, "even if my general staff had not recommended segregation, I would have continued it as a policy."

Nothing could be plainer than Secretary Royall's attitude. He stuck to it stubbornly through vigorous questioning and comments from all the conferees. He reiterated it for newspapermen after the conference was over. In the Department of the Army, at least, and as long as Secretary Royall remains as the department head, segregation of Negroes will be the official policy.

Secretary Royall on April 26, 1948, used almost the same phrases to defend the segregated policy that Army staff officers used in a similar conference with Negro editors on December 8, 1941. The events of the past six and one-half years have had no effect on the Army mind. It is as if we had never had a war. The really significant progress of Negro Americans and of Negro-white relations in civilian life in the past decade are as nothing to the Army brass. To cite only one example: the ancient, intrenched and wholly successful policy of no segregation within John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers is still regarded by the Army mind as an "experiment" which it cannot afford to make. Civilian life in America, and life in the world outside America, has left our Army far behind.

The inevitable effect of the April 26 meeting, especially that part played by Secretary Royall, will be the deepening of the discussion of the A. Philip Randolph proposal of civil disobedience to a jim-crow draft.

It may easily recruit converts to the Randolph idea—persons who were withholding judgment in the hope that the top officials could not be as blind to the times as they were represented to be.

It is now clear that not only is segregation not to be eliminated (as it should be), but that there will be no modification of the basic policy. In brushing aside a question on the Randolph proposal, Secretary Royall made one of his many unfortunate statements: "I am from North Carolina and I know Negroes. The Randolph matter doesn't worry me."

It remains to be seen whether Mr. Royall knows Negroes, or whether he knows only *some* Negroes. In any case, he is maintaining a stonewall against not only Negroes, but against America. Our nation cannot meet the challenge of the times with a democratic pattern set by North Carolina's conception of the "place" of the Negro.

FIGHTING THE JIM CROW ARMY

ON March 31, A. Philip Randolph, testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, declared that if segregation were not eliminated from the armed services he would lead a civil disobedience campaign and urge Negroes—and such whites as are in sympathy with the fight—to refuse to register for the draft, or for universal military training, or both.

With his usual eloquence and sincerity Mr. Randolph interpreted to the committee the intense resentment he had found among his people over the policy which separates them on the basis of color in the service of their country.

While practically all Negroes agree 100 per cent with Randolph on the evils, there is no indication as yet how many agree that civil disobedience is the way to meet the situation.

The NAACP has never counseled American Negroes to refuse to serve their country in time of danger. It has been persistent in its criticisms and protests, and during the first World War *The Crisis* was threatened with withdrawal of its second class mailing privileges. The NAACP today is not advising civil disobedience as a weapon to fight the jim-crow army policy. It is dubious about this method as an effective technique when the position of the Negro minority is soberly considered. It does not believe at the present time that any section of the population is justified in refusing to bear arms in time of national peril except the religious conscientious objectors. This is the Negro's country. Whatever its shortcomings, he has no other. If he refuses to report for its military service he sacrifices his right to demand the abolition of the evils that keep him a second-class citizen.

All the angry refutations of this position are true: we have fought in all past wars in company with humiliation and mistreatment; we fought while lies were told about us during training, in front line action, and after the shooting had stopped; we fought while our people were being lynched on the home front; we fought while Senator Eastland and his ilk were slandering us on the floor of the United States Senate; we fought while generals wrote "memoirs" for posterity telling future generations that we were inefficient and cowardly. In each instance we came back to our country and it slapped us down. When does our cup run over? When do we say, "No, we won't take it any longer!"?

But we cannot refuse to serve if, despite our protestations, the detested jim crow remains. Our protest has been too clear and sharp and unanimous for any to think that our service marks our acquiescence to the system. We cannot refuse even though an Eisenhower says we should be segregated. We cannot refuse because the destiny of a people is carved as much from resolute hearts and great spirits as from brave declarations; and because the long-range objectives are too precious, and are bought by journeys through just such Gethsemanes.

The Southern Revolt

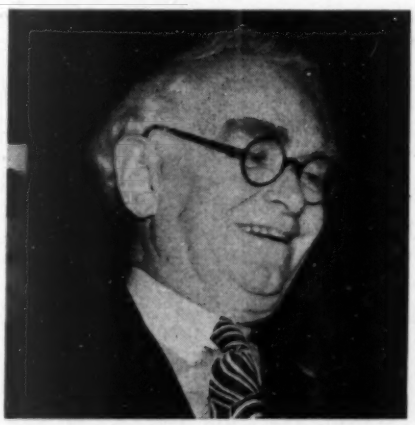
By Hugh M. Gloster

Though the southern revolt against Mr. Truman's civil-rights program is largely sound and fury, its full implications do, however, point up the moral cancer in our democracy

THE serious disparity between the profession and the practice of democracy in the United States has been revealed with unmistakable clearness in the determined opposition of Southern politicians to the proposals made in Mr. Truman's ten-point civil-rights message delivered to Congress on February 2. The concerted effort of Dixie governors and congressmen to support their resistance by enacting spite legislation and persecuting Mr. Truman as a 1948 presidential aspirant chiefly on the basis of his civil-rights program suggests the existence of a cancerous condition near the very heart of the nation. Coming at a time when the United States is sponsoring democracy as a way of life for foreign peoples and when our domestic deeds may determine whether other countries will be friends or foes, the southern repudiation of the President's civil-rights platform severely impairs both our national self-respect and our standing before mankind.

In a country sincerely loyal to the ideals of democracy there would be absolutely no objection to Mr. Truman's advocacy of federal legislation guaranteeing civil rights, providing protection against lynching, safeguarding the right to vote, banning discrimination in employment, prohibiting segregation in interstate transportation, and affording home rule and suffrage in presidential elections for the District of Columbia. In the main, the Chief Executive's recommendations simply involve implementation of the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States: they merely seek to translate into action the basic American creed that all men are created equal, that they have the right to equal justice and opportunity under the law, and that the function of government is to protect the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed. Such recommendations ought to be promptly endorsed by a nation honestly desirous of demonstrating its faith in a free society.

But the response to Mr. Truman's proposals has not been sympathetic among bigoted southern demagogues who have used white-supremacy propaganda and a one-party political system to retard their region and advance their personal interests. Southern lawmakers have not only laid plans to block the passage of the President's civil-rights measures but have also undertaken to force his retirement at the close of his present term to prevent the nomination of any other candidate espousing antidiscrimination bills.



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BOSS EDWARD H. CRUMP *of Memphis, Tenn., climbed into the "revolters" cariole with the snarl that Mr. Truman's program was a "scheming, cold-blooded effort to outdo Henry Wallace and Gov. Dewey of New York for the Negro vote. . . ."*

Southern Rage and Protest

Mr. Truman's civil-rights statement was followed by southern protest which rose from a premonitory grumble to a thunderous outcry. Within two months almost every well-known southern politician either pouted in frustration or made threats of vengeance.

Referring to the support previously given to Mr. Truman by southern Democrats, Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi lamented: "May I say, Mr. Speaker, that this is a mighty poor way for him to evince his gratitude?" Representative Gossett of Texas charged both Democrats and Republicans with casting out civil-rights vote-bait for Northern minority groups: "Both parties get down on their bellies, crawl in the dirt, and kiss the feet of the organized minorities in the big pivotal states." In a similar vein E. H. Crump, powerful political boss in Memphis, made the following accusation: "In his scheming, cold-blooded effort to outdo Henry Wallace and Governor Dewey of New York for the Negro vote, he has endeavored to reduce the South to a country of crawling cowards."

Rumblings of rebellion emanated from all parts of Dixie. In a bitter mood Representative L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina promised retaliation: "One of these days the so-called leaders are going to find out that the so-called Solid South is not as solid as some of the heads of our so-called leaders." Many southern spokesmen declared that the President had signed his political death warrant by advocating civil rights for all Americans. Herman Talmadge, son of the late red-gallused Gene, commented: "The Georgia delegation will do all in its power to defeat the nomination of Mr. Truman. His so-called civil-rights program is repugnant to the South." Another Georgian, Grand Dragon Samuel Green of the Ku Klux Klan, called the Chief Executive a "gone gosling" politically. Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama stated: "People in the South are so bitter in their opposition to President Truman that they will never accept him as the nominee. I wish very much that he would sense the situation and withdraw." One of the harshest remarks of its kind in American history was made about Mr. Truman by Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas: "The Democratic Party doesn't want to run the race with a politically dead Missouri mule."

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REP. MENDEL RIVERS, S. C.

". . . the so-called Solid South is not as solid as some of the heads of our so-called leaders . . ."

Anti-Civil Rights Maneuvers

Backing up their words of protest, southern politicians have made vigorous moves to evince their dissatisfaction with Mr. Truman and a program of civil rights.

On February 19 the Arkansas Democratic Central Committee voted unanimously to withdraw its support until national Democratic officials reverse their stand on "anti-southern" legislation. Soon afterwards the Mississippi State Democratic Committee voted to withdraw from the party's nominating convention unless that body pledged itself to fight "anti-southern" laws. Also turning thumbs down on Mr. Truman, the South Carolina State Democratic Committee followed Mississippi in voting to collect funds for use in a possible presidential campaign independent of that of the national Democratic party.

Repercussions of southern insubordination went as far as the Democratic National Committee itself when George B. Hamilton, state treasurer of Georgia, resigned as finance director of the committee in protest against Mr. Truman's recommendations. In a letter to Senator J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the committee, Hamilton said that he had decided to withdraw because he could not "in any way agree with the civil rights program promulgated by the President and endorsed by you officially as chairman."

In a meeting at Wakulla Springs, Florida, a committee of southern governors designated members of their group to go to Washington to speak "in the strongest language possible" against the civil-rights measures. The Dixie PAC was received on February 23 by Senator McGrath, who rebuffed them politely but firmly. After leaving McGrath, the dissidents issued a manifesto which said in part: "The Democrats of the South are united in their opposition to the so-called civil-rights program proposed by the President, and effective action will be taken to prevent adoption of this program." The "effective action" was announced in an eleven-page report on March 13 by six southern governors representing states with an aggregate of 72 electoral votes. In order to oppose Mr. Truman

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GOV. BEN LANEY, ARKANSAS

". . . Democratic party doesn't want to run the race with a politically dead Missouri mule . . ."

or any other sponsor of civil-rights legislation, the governors recommended that people of the South "fight to the last ditch to prevent the nomination of any candidate for president or vice president who advocates such invasions of state sovereignty" and, if the national party should nominate such a candidate, that "they shall see to it that the electoral college votes of their states are not cast for such nominees. . . ." The document also called for deferring by state conventions of the nomination of presidential and vice-presidential electors until after the national convention, caucusing of presidential and vice-presidential electors to insure united action in the electoral college, and regular conferences for planning the maximum southern influence in strategy sessions and at the national convention.

On the same day that the six-governor council announced its plan for blocking the nomination and election of Mr. Truman, the Virginia General Assembly wrote into law Governor William M. Tuck's toned-down election bill. This measure, which will become effective on June 29, will enable the Virginia Democratic machine to prepare its own ticket if the state Democratic convention fails to ratify the presidential nominee of the national party. In the address in which he recommended an independent Virginia ticket Tuck asserted that the President's civil-rights proposals "constitute not only an invasion of the field of government clearly and explicitly reserved to the states by the founding fathers in the Federal Constitution but an uncalled-for and unwarranted assault upon the established customs and traditions of the entire Southland."

Four Choices

Despite the pouting and shouting that are taking place in Dixie Land, the fact remains that southern democrats have four simple choices: first, to support the Republican party; second, to join the Third party of Henry A Wallace; third, to organize a new party championing state rights and white supremacy; or, finally, to remain with the Democratic party.

Let us briefly examine these four choices in the order named. In the first place, it is doubtful that southern

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REP. ED GOSSETT, TEXAS

". . . both parties get down on their bellies, crawl in the dust and kiss the feet of the organized minorities . . ."

Democrats would bolt to the Republican party, which could hardly make concessions on civil rights without jeopardizing G. O. P. principles. Depending heavily upon the voters of northern and western states, the Republican party must continue a strong civil-rights program. Even if southern Democratic bigwigs should advocate support of the Republicans in November, the white voters of the region would hardly vote for candidates campaigning under the standard of their traditional and present political enemy. It is well known that the aversion of southern racists for Yankees equals their abhorrence of civil rights for Negroes.

The possibility of the white majority of the South trekking to Henry A. Wallace may be ruled out of the question, for Wallace is in favor of prompt enactment of legislation guaranteeing civil rights for the disadvantaged and underprivileged people of the country. The unlikelihood of a Third party triumph in 1948 is another factor which would make the Wallace camp a cheerless refuge for reactionary southerners.

In the next place, the organization of a new party dedicated to state sovereignty and white supremacy would insure a Republican victory in November. For fattened southern politicians a G. O. P. triumph would bring the cessation of power that accompanies seniority in Congress, the loss of patronage and other benefits, and the sacrifice of millions of dollars in federal grants for regional projects. This is a prospect which even the most impetuous Southern die-hard would shudder to anticipate.

In view of the three preceding choices, it is a safe bet that the rebels will be taking their chances with the Democratic party in November, even if Mr. Truman is nominated to succeed himself. Just before election time Dixie tempers will be cooler, and the Bourbon boys will soberly realize that a Democratic victory is the only possible means of retaining any semblance of the power which they now possess. In brief, the revolt will fizzle for the simple reason that the southern politicians have nowhere else to go. Neither the Republican party nor the Third party can embrace the reactionary social and political ideology of the Dixie Democrats who do not have sufficient strength to win a national election through organized regional effort.

The South will be unable to reap the benefits of a two-party system until it can endorse a civil-rights program which will force both Republicans and

(Continued on page 155)

Ameaçam rebelar-se os Estados meridionais dos E.U.A.

"Caso não cessem os ataques do governo à supremacia da raça branca, irromperá a revolta no sul dos E. U. A." – diz o ultimato enviado pela Conferência dos Governadores ao Partido Democrata

FOLHA DA NOITE — EDIÇÃO ÚNICA

FRACASSOU o acordo interpartidario no Rio Grande do Sul

INVASÃO DA PALESTINA

WHEN *southern politicians and governors abuse Mr. Truman for his civil-rights program, they give American democracy a black eye abroad and headlines like this one from the São Paulo, Brazil,* FOLHA DA NOITE *(Monday, February 8, 1948):— "SOUTHERN STATES OF THE UNITED STATES THREATEN TO REBEL. 'If the government does not stop its attacks on white supremacy, there is likelihood of a revolt in the southern states,' says the ultimatum sent by the Conference of Governors to the Democratic party."*

Paragraph at left reads: "Warm Springs, Florida (Urgent).—An incipient revolt is brewing throughout the southern states of the United States as result of President Truman's civil-rights program for North-American Negroes."

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FIVE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS *shown presenting their demand, to Sen. J. Howard McGrath (Seated), chairman of the Democratic National Committee, that President Truman's civil-rights program be withdrawn. The governors are (L-R) Ben. T. Laney of Arkansas; R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina; Wm. P. Lane, Jr., of Maryland; J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina; and B. H. Jester of Texas.*

The Negroes and the Draft

IF THE new draft bill is enacted into law—as is likely to happen despite the vast popular opposition—it will have some rough sledding with the American Negroes.

That, at any rate, is the meaning of one of the most impressive and courageous statements that has ever been made before a Congressional committee by any man, white or black. It was made on March 31, and it has not received nearly as much attention as it deserves. For it opens a new chapter, not only in the history of the American Negroes, and of American military measures, but also in the history of the deadly serious struggle for American democracy.

At the right [editorial page PM] there is a picture of the two Negro leaders who made the statement. The picture may prove one for the history books. They are A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds. Randolph has been in many battles for Negro freedom and trade-union rights. He is the head of the union of Sleeping-Car Porters. Neither man fits in with the popular idea of a radical agitator. Randolph is deeply and outspokenly anti-Communist. Reynolds is a Republican, a member of the New York State Commission of Corrections.

Truman Didn't Like to Listen to That Kind of Talk

But both men mean what they say when they speak out against Jim Crow in the Army. Three weeks ago they saw President Truman, and Randolph told him that "Negroes are in no mood to shoulder another gun for democracy abroad while they are denied democracy here at home." Truman blew up and said he didn't like to listen to that kind of talk. The delegation asked him whether he did or didn't want to know how the Negroes felt. They were reporting a hard fact to him, and he could take it or leave it.

But when Randolph and Reynolds came up before the Armed Services Committee of the U. S. Senate, they did more than report. They took a stand. Randolph pledged himself to advocate

***Because of the nation-wide discussion of the testimony of A. Philip Randolph before the Senate Armed Forces Committee,* The Crisis *has secured permission to reprint this provocative editorial from the April 11 issue of the New York newspaper* PM**

and support among Negro youth an "organized refusal to register or be drafted" unless the draft and the UMT acts embody specific provisions against Jim Crow. He talked of a possible "mass civil disobedience movement along the lines of the magnificent struggles of the people of India against British imperialism." He added: "I personally pledge myself to openly counsel, aid and abet youth, both white and Negro, to quarantine any Jim Crow conscription system." He said that the Negroes had fought in the war against the Nazis because they saw it as a war against Hitler's racism. "This factor," he said, "is not present in the power struggle between Stalin and the U. S."

This is not idle talk, and Randolph and Reynolds showed that they have coldly measured its consequences, for themselves and for the large mass of Negroes whose view they undoubtedly express. When Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon showed his sense of shock at the testimony, and pointed out that this might be prosecuted under the legal doctrine of treason, Randolph answered that he knew there would be terrorism against the Negroes, but "we would be willing to absorb the violence, absorb the terrorism, face the music, and take whatever comes. . . . I think that's a price we have to pay to get our democratic rights."

There Are Two Facts That Must Be Recognized

Whether you are sympathetic with Randolph, or are shocked as Sen. Morse was shocked, you must recognize two facts about it. First, that it is a historic statement, one that took the kind of courage of going into battle in the face of enemy fire. Second, that it presents a far more important question in the security of American democracy than all the debates about the draft, UMT, atom bombs, and a larger air-force that are now occupying the military minds. Morally, Randolph and Reynolds are right, and they have gone far deeper into the relation of democracy and national security than any of the military men or the Congressmen have gone. What they are saying is that you cannot shunt aside the struggle for democracy on a plea of a national security emergency. For it is not the armed forces which can protect our democracy. It is the moral strength of democracy which alone can give any meaning to the efforts at military security.

On this score even a general who is unlike his fellow-generals—Dwight Eisenhower—showed a narrowness and blindness when he defended the current system of army segregation. Eisenhower is a former Chief of Staff, and he will soon be a university president, and he is a man whose mind is obviously on the move and whose social philosophy is in the making. I suggest to him very strongly that he go to school to these two Negro leaders, and that he can learn a few things from them about democracy which his military experience has not taught him.

They in Turn Have Learned Something From Gandhi

We can all learn from them. And they in turn have learned something from Gandhi. We shall be adding up the total of the full effect of Gandhi's teaching for many years to come. On this score Gandhi taught two things: that nothing is more important than the moral conviction of an individual: and that in the face of the organized passive resistance to evil—a resistance flowing from that moral conviction—no amount of violence or terrorism will ultimately prevail.

This is, in my memory, the first time that responsible Negro leaders, who are

(Continued on page 154)

Justice Sleeps: the Ingram Case

By Emil Willimetz

I FIRST heard of the "Ingram Case," as did most Americans (i.e. those Americans who are in the habit of being aware of such events) by a tiny notice in the papers announcing that a stay of execution had been granted the Ingrams. The "Ingrams" were listed as Rosa Lee Ingram, age 40, mother of 12 children and a recent widow, and her two teen-age sons, Wallace, 16, and Sammie Lee, 14. It stated briefly that they were Negroes, impoverished sharecroppers, and that they had killed a sharecropper neighbor, an old man named Stratford, white, allegedly in self-defense. A stay of execution had been granted pending a hearing for retrial. And this was all.

To one used to southern folkways, the algebraic formula involving the digits Black, White, Justice, and concluding with Death and Injustice, is as mechanically recited as the multiplication table in grade school. To find the same indifference in the liberal northern press was profundly disturbing. They say that the world's boundries are growing closer. How close are we now to Georgia? Or Harlem? Or is it because, after a time, we get used to injustice in places where we expect it? After a long period of war, the atomic destruction of Hiroshima disturbed, morally, very few people.

Some day, I believe, we will truly know the meaning of Hiroshima. Just as some day we will truly know the meaning of the histories of families like the Ingrams. When we become used to and indifferent to violence and injustice, our tendency to value life and justice is generally loosened and our moral fiber comes apart in our hands like a wet paper bag. I believe we saw this recently in Germany and Italy.

Because of this interest in the Ingram case, and my desire to learn more about it, I ran into the rare opportunity of receiving an assignment to do a photographic record of the Ingram children for a pamphlet being prepared by the NAACP in New York.

It's a long journey to Atlanta and train riding is inducive to little else but a kind of mesmerizing introspection. The case I was on, although a brutal miscarriage of justice, was certainly not unique. My knowledge of southern race relations, personal and factual, was filled with many such instances of injustice and violence. Yet there was something in the circumstances here which disturbed me deeply. I thought back over the few facts which were known and established truths in the case. Neighbors, both sharecroppers for the same landowner, both equally poor and insecure. The mules or hogs, or both, of one wander into the "property" of the other. Result: violence, death! And then death for the mother and two of her children? Because of a mule? Or because of race hatred?

Then it struck me that during the war I was constantly being reminded of the same juxtapositions. A sudden reversal of normal, domestic, civilized objects into death and destruction—because, again, violence in war is acceptable and natural. A stone wall, a hedgerow across a field—tranquil in the sun—built centuries ago to keep cattle from the garden, suddenly spits death as we approach it. For weeks my regiment bled itself white pitting itself against a fortified sport stadium and swimming pool. A church spire, built high above the town, emblem of man's highest aspirations, is for us, who see it over a rise in the ground, the eye of malevolence and destruction. A mule tramples in another's garden and in a hate and fear saturated world, death explodes!

"The South today, and in more or less degree, the entire country is a land at war. Saturated by a blanket of violence. And that seemed to me to be the keynote of my feelings for the Ingram family," says the author

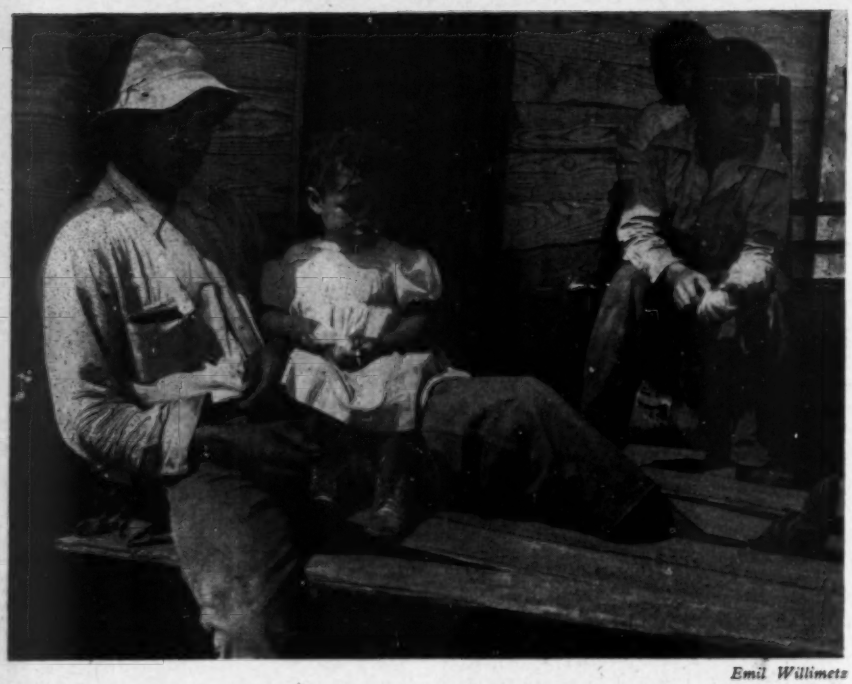
Pittsburgh Courier

MRS. ROSA LEE INGRAM *and her two sons, Wallace and Samuel Lee. ". . . From her children I knew her to be a good and capable mother. . . ."*

Land at War

The South today, and in more or less degree, the entire country, is a land at war. Saturated by a blanket of violence. And that seemed to me to be the keynote of my feelings for the Ingram family. Not alone that life on a mined-out, tired farm meant back-breaking, unrewarded toil; not only that the soil you till was not yours or that the improvements you made might benefit another, should, by some whim of the landowner, you be dispossessed; or that you have lost your husband and needs must raise your twelve children alone—but, that you should be equal to this overwhelming task, provide and be a good mother, you must still always be afraid, every minute, (like an old combat soldier atuned to the sounds of shells) of the potential violence of your world. Although a shock, it must not have been a surprise to Mrs. Ingram when disaster struck her down.

My stopover in Atlanta gave me the opportunity to meet the people who were leading the fight, locally, to save the Ingrams. Such men as Col. Austin T. Walden, well known Atlanta



Emil Willimetz

CHARLIE, *who was also in jail for a few months. It's all day on the porch in deep depression. The other children act in a similar manner.*

attorney; W. C. Harper, president of the Atlanta NAACP branch; Rev. Wm. H. Borders, vice-president; Daniel Byrd, field representative NAACP, and others. From them I got a more intimate picture of the case, the names of some local Negro leaders in Americus who might help me, and the feeling that the leadership of the opposition forces in the South was of no mean caliber. I also found that the sheriff had moved the Ingrams to an undisclosed jail and that even her own daughter, as yet, had been denied a visit to her mother. This was blamed on undue (northern) interest in the case.

It was raining the morning I left Atlanta and still raining when I arrived in Americus. The town, especially from the railway station was old, certainly, and gloomy. The hotel was in keeping with the town. Going through the lobby of the hotel, through the rows of seemingly dormant rocking-chair folk, I was conscious of sharp appraisal. My camera case made me feel as though I was carrying a sandwich-sign lettered FREEDOM FOR THE INGRAMS OR BUST! NAACP NORTHERN AGITATOR. I had the strong feeling of being "The Stranger" —worse, "A Spy." An enemy alien in my own country, where the people I feared most were the forces of Law and Order. Although in no danger I had an unnerving feeling of uneasiness. I decided to have some dinner.

Revealing Talk

In the cafe peacefully eating, my ears cocked to a most enlightening conversation at a table close by on the Truman Civil Rights program, I was suddenly startled by one of the louder of the group, dramatically pointing his finger at me and exclaiming: "Ten years from now," he said ominously, "our sons, like that young fellow over there," I winced a little at the identification, "will be eating at that table and a nigger will walk in and sit down and eat next to him, and it will be against the law to stop him!" He paused for effect, still shaking his finger at me significantly. "What's more," he continued, "there'll be nothing *we* will be able to do about it either." They all look at me as though I was expected to lose my dinner at this appalling prophesy. I didn't.

While I sat there, struggling to regain my composure and appetite, the debate went on very much in the same vein. It wasn't until somewhat later that I realized this was the first time I have ever heard, at least this type of Southerner, publicly admit the possibility of defeat for his program of race segregation and hatred. And it made the winning of each case of injustice, the Ingram Case, all the more important. In Wrightsville, close by, the Klan demonstrated the night before the primary and no Negro voted. In Jeffersonville, however, the Klan demonstrated and two hundred Negroes voted.

Very much encouraged, and despite the rain, I called one of my contacts and made arrangements to be driven out to the Ingram children the following morning.

It rained the next morning—in fact almost all that week. It was only because of the fine cooperation of the Americus Ingram Committee and the self-sacrifice of one of them that I was able to get there during the few hours of rainless sky there was that week.

I was told that the family was living on the farm of a distant relation, a prosperous farmer named Sam Hill. Prosperous, I found, is a purely relative term. What is meant, is that he actually owns his own land (more than most small farmers in the area who own very little) and some cattle and equipment. Be that as it may, and although his house was shabby and unpainted, (Negro homes fixed up and painted, in this area, have been known to be burned down by jealous white neighbors), Mr. Hill himself I found to be a kindly, hardworking and purposeful man.

We drove around to one of the old cabins on the place where the children were living under the care of the oldest daughter, Mrs. Geneva Rushin, who had two young tots of her own to care for. The children, not expecting visitors, and probably suspicious of white people, watched us quietly as we drove

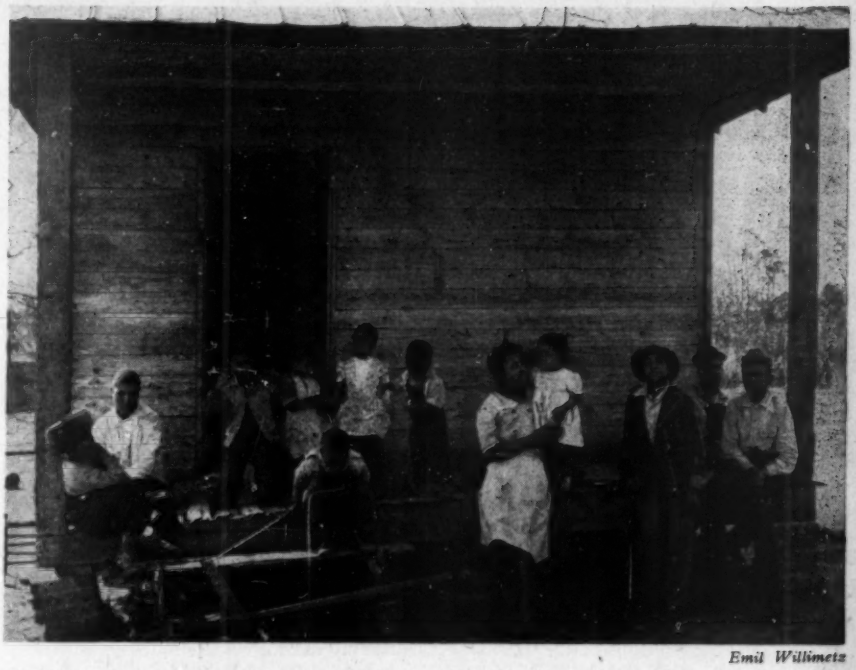
Emil Willimetz

THIS *Ingram youngster enjoys the man-sized hat he's salvaged from one of the gift packages sent to his family.*

up. However, they recognized my driver, who had made many visits before bringing clothes and money from the Committee, and came over to the car. Geneva Rushin, who had been scrubbing the cabin, came out to greet us. I was introduced, and after bringing in some packages of clothing, was left there on my own for the duration of the afternoon. There is not enough space to tell the full story of all that occurred there that afternoon, but I would like to include some of the impressions I received.

Mrs. Rushin, it seemed to me, was a young woman of great courage and resoursefulness. The cleanliness of the cabin, the orderliness of the children and her own innate cheerfulness, testify to her character. Her greatest concern was for the children, many of whom were sick. I would like to make a plea here for people of good will who would like to make a contribution, in addition to money, that they send medical and dietery necessities such as vitamin and cod liver oil tablets, standard household drugs and other items necessary for the proper care of children.

After the initial excitement of opening the packages of clothes and of being photographed, and after I had shown the more inquisitive of the kids the ins and outs of my camera, I settled down on the porch with them, pretending to be resting. I wanted quiet, unpretentious shots, pictures of the family as they were. After a while they grew used to me and I was able to slip around and get some of the pictures I was after. I was able to get some small insight as to the effect on the children of the dreadful struggle that took place near their home and of the absence of their mother.



Emil Willimetz

ENTIRE *Ingram family group, except those in jail. The two young children in the group belong to Mrs. Rushin. The cabin belongs to Sam Hill.*

Emil Willimetz

ATTORNEY *A. T. Walden, counsel Georgia state conference NAACP branches, going over trial testimony prior to hearing for new trial, which was held March 25.*

Charlie—His Grief

Most deeply affected was the oldest boy, Charlie, who was also jailed for some time and only released when it was proved that he wasn't even on the farm when the struggle took place. Charlie sat on the corner of the porch all afternoon, not speaking, just looking down at his feet. He had a clean-cut, soft and sensitive face. Whenever I spoke to him he would look up, answer politely and then look down again. Without looking up I knew that he was aware whenever I aimed my camera in his direction. I felt self-conscious and ashamed, like I was disturbing a very private and personal grief, and it took all my belief in what I was trying to accomplish to do it. Charlies' face mirrored the very same kind of shock I had seen on the faces of young combat soldiers who found it impossible to adjust to the first days of combat.

The other, younger children were to some degree also very much affected. They would play and then suddenly stop and stare at nothing. Even the one with the most puckish and aggressive nature, who examined me and my camera most carefully and who fished out a large straw hat from the clothes package and strutted manfully around the cabin in it, suddenly stopped clowning and curled up in his coat on the porch looking woefully at me every time I sat down next to him.

The law had moved Mrs. Ingram beyond my reach and I was unfortunately unable to see her. But from her children I know her to be a good and capable mother. The children were intelligent, well-behaved and very close to one another. When a very young one would cry, an older child would pick him up and sooth him.

I don't believe in emotionalism in judging what is or what is not a miscarriage of justice. But this to me, in the face of all the maladjustment and unsatisfactory family relationships of our times, is the crux and horror of the Ingram case. That despite heroic efforts in the face of formidable odds, a woman like Mrs. Ingram, successful in every way as a mother, is doomed to failure because of race.

Judged coldly, by every judicial standard, the crime committed was nothing more odious than self-defense. This was tacitly admitted by the judge who sentenced them, when he changed the verdict to life imprisonment under

(Continued on page 154)

Curbing Discrimination in Education

By Ina Sugihara

New York State takes the first step toward the removal of racial barriers in higher education

THE first state law designed to end discrimination in colleges and universities was signed on April 6, 1948, by Governor Thomas E. Dewey. This law, the Quinn-Olliffe bill which the New York legislature passed by an overwhelming majority in 1948, marks one of the first significant achievements in the long and bitter fight for equality of educational opportunity in this country. The law goes into effect on July 1, 1948, and should influence college enrollments this fall.

Since New York has no state university, the law covers the private colleges, which occupy an unique position in the state. Actually the only public institutions of higher education in the state are the city colleges of New York and the few state teachers' schools. So excepting these teacher-training institutions, all professional training in the state is given by private colleges. Some of these private institutions have departments accredited by the Regents just as if they were divisions in a state university. The agricultural college at Cornell is an example.

The central problem has been to get these private colleges to open their doors to certain minorities, particularly Negroes, Jews, and Italian-Americans, who have so far been admitted in limited numbers only if at all.

City Council Report

According to the official report of a New York City Council committee appointed to study discrimination in colleges, of which Councilman Walter R. Hart is chairman, the five New York City medical schools, during the 22-year period 1920-1942, graduated only 39 Negroes all together and no more than three in any one year.

Quotas, the report revealed, have been established during the past two decades, and the number of Jewish students admitted to the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons dropped from a high of 46 in 1920 to a low of 6 in 1936; at the Cornell University Medical School, from 35 (more than half) in 1920 to 9 in 1932, though total enrollments increased in both cases.

In 1947, 3 out of 54 colleges in New York State had only 351 known Negroes enrolled out of a total enrollment of 75,881, which represents less than one-half of one per cent. Granted that some of these colleges honestly are looking for more Negro students, yet many of them have consistently refused Negroes admission.

These figures indicate that New York colleges do discriminate, in spite of the fact that the "state tax law" prohibts an institution enjoying tax exemption (which includes all the colleges) from denying "the use of its facilities to any person otherwise qualified by reason of his race, color, or religion." In addition, the State Civil Rights Act makes it a crime to deny anyone admission to a professional school because of his race, religion or color.

The situation has grown more and more desperate with the years, especially since discrimination against Negroes and Jews is not confined to New York, and students have not been able to find out-of-state colleges which would accept them any more readily than the institutions in their home state. Actually, the colleges in New York State, while privately owned, are tax exempt and are recognized collectively as the "University of the State of New York." Hence their obligation to the public extends far beyond that of any ordinary private enterprise.

With this background in mind, a campaign for fair educational practices legislation was started in New York two years ago with a taxpayer's suit against Columbia University, brought by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, on the basis of the anti-discrimination provision of the "state tax law." Then the Austin-Mahony bill, the first act, was introduced into the 1946 legislature, and, failing passage, re-introduced in 1947. In the meantime, in response to public demand, the Hart Committee was appointed by the New York City Council. Its findings revealed long-standing discrimination in New York City's five medical schools.

The bill failed again last year. Then in the fall, the President's Committee on Civil Rights, the President's Commission on Higher Education, and the New York State Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University (Young Commission) made strong recommendations for state laws to end discrimination in private colleges. Meanwhile, the New York State Committee for Equality in Education was formed with the support of some thirty organizations including Negro, Jewish, Protestant, and Italian American groups, as well as many labor unions, educators, and other distinguished citizens.

This committee sponsored the campaign for the Quinn-Olliffe bill under the leadership of Dr. Alvin Johnson, president emeritus of the New School for Social Research; Shad Polier, vice-president of the American Jewish Congress; Roy Wilkins, assistant executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and the Rev. Dr. Robert W. Searle, executive secretary of the Human Relations Commission of The Protestant Council of the City of New York; Henry Epstein, chairman of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, a policy coordinating body for major Jewish groups; Professor Roma Gans, Teachers College, Columbia University; and Austin M. Fisher, an industrial relations counselor.

Enforcement Problem

Though the law is on the statute books, there is still the problem of enforcement. That is why the committee for equality in education will continue to function, in order to furnish whatever evidence or data on discrimination to the State Commissioner of Education that might be necessary, since he is empowered to act. Thus the admission policies of non-sectarian private col-

leges and universities are now open to the scrutiny of the Commissioner if he has reason to believe that they discriminate on the basis of race, religion, creed, color, or national origin. Unlike other civil rights laws, individual complaints are unnecessary, although they may be filed and used as bases for investigation. The Commissioner will investigate, conduct private hearings, and otherwise attempt to change the discriminatory policy through conciliation. Failing this, a public hearing will be held by the Board of Regents. They may issue a cease and desist order, which is enforceable in the courts, and both parties may appeal to the courts.

Although religion and creed are overlooked, the religious and denominational colleges may not discriminate on the basis of race, color or national origin. However, they may select students calculated to promote the religious principles for which these institutions were established. This legislation applies only to admissions and while other discriminatory practices might occur, as in the segregation of Negro students in Army Hall at New York City College, the opening wedge has been made. In the City College incident the segregation has been abolished and the sub-official responsible has resigned.

Despite the fact that the New York State "tax law" actually covers *facilities*, this provision is not sufficient, even with the auxiliary aid of the state civil rights act, to change major policies. An enforcement procedure, and one which does not require proof of discrimination against a specific individual, is needed. Non-discrimination in the hiring of faculty members and other personnel remains an educational and employment problem yet to be solved. Both the Commission on Higher Education and the Young Commission recognized the necessity and the validity of other criteria, character, general outlook, etc., than mere scholarship in the selection of students, and the Quinn-Olliffe law grants this privilege so long as it is not used for discriminatory purposes. These other criteria, however, may not include such items as the student's religion, his race or birthplace, his parents' birthplace, his mother's maiden name, and similar data, which has nothing to do with the ability of the student and which can be easily obtained after the student is admitted should it be needed for use in helping to guide his career. The photographs of applicants, now commonly required, are also excluded.

While the Quinn-Olliffe law does not specifically forbid requests for these data, it frowns upon any policy sanctioning their usage. In fact, their use may be treated as circumstantial evidence for the existence of a discriminatory policy. In any event, the Regents can forbid them, with their authority to make rules and regulations to enforce the act. New York colleges still have the privilege of selecting relatives of alumni, and they may keep their geographical quotas, but they must not discriminate within the quota against any group from any part of the country.

What Colleges Did

An American Jewish Congress survey reveals that this is precisely what the major colleges in New York City did when they became "national" in character. In the five year period 1921-25, forty-one percent of the students from New York City admitted to the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons were Jewish. In 1941-45, however, only twenty-nine percent were Jewish. If one takes the ratio for the whole state, he finds that Jewish students in the Columbia medical college dropped from thirty-eight to twenty-four percent.

An examination of the admission policies of the Cornell University Medical School presents a similar picture. In 1921-25, the percentage of Jewish students from New York City was 46.5; in 1936-40, it was 18.0; and by 1941-45 it had risen slightly to 26.0. Pretty much the same pattern obtains for New York state students at Cornell: 19.6 percent were Jewish in 1921-25; 11.0 percent in 1936-40; and 13.0 percent in 1941-45.

The entire country needs a Quinn-Olliffe law, or even stronger legislation; and it is hoped that other states will follow New York's lead, as some have done in the instance of fair employment practices laws. As the Commission on Higher Education has stated: ". . . Discrimination in one or another form and against one or another minority group is a national phenomenon, and it is not confined to one or two minorities nor any area in the Nation. Its consequences are felt throughout the land by such diverse religious and racial groups as Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Latin Americans, Italians and Orientals."

As a matter of fact, some phases of the problem can be handled only on a national scale. The states by themselves, for example, would find it difficult to handle the restrictions on admissions imposed by certain professional societies on the colleges they control or influence. Many Negroes and Jews throughout the country have been forced to give up the idea of careers in medicine, law or nursing simply because they could not get the training. Jewish enrollment in medical schools has decreased fifty percent in twenty years, and not more than possibly ten percent of the Negro doctors graduated each year come from white medical schools. Of the 1280 nursing schools in this country, less than 66 admit Negroes.

The colleges should be acting as seed beds for democratic living, they should be the "pioneering agents of leadership against discrimination," but they can never do this so long as they limit or exclude first one minority group and then another. In the South, of course, the problem is tied up with that of compulsory segregation, but the more subtle forms of discrimination that exist in the North and West can be blocked by statute and moral suasion.

The problem of discrimination in education is basic for our mores and living habits. If we learn through our schools that all people are human regardless of their background or race or color, we lay the foundation for a real social democracy. Until we do this, the term "higher education" will be a mockery and a farce.

Courtesy Institute for American Democracy, Inc.

"You'll have to wait, son, till we check on your race and religion!"

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Williams

THESE MEMBERS *of the Clark college chapter of the NAACP served as host to the Second Annual Southern Regional Workshop, March 12-14. More than fifty delegates assembled from North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia to discuss "Operation Political Action," the theme of the conference. Chapter officers are Alfred Eason, president; Thomas Blue, vice-president; Mattie Moseley, secretary; David Collington, treasurer; Albert Vines, chairman membership committee; and Zenovia Stafford, chairman program committee.*

MEMBERSHIPS

Membership Drive: Three hundred and twenty-six local branches of the NAACP in thirty-seven states launched in April their annual spring membership drives under sponsorship of a nation-wide committee headed by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, campaign director.

Assured of the united support of the churches, newspapers, civic, and fraternal organizations in the various communities, Mrs. Lampkin has expressed the conviction that the drive this year will surpass all previous records.

The work of the nation-wide compaign committee, composed of outstanding leaders, will be supplemented by state committees. The entire resources of the Association will be utilized in this three-month drive to expand membership. The West Coast and Southeast regional offices and the four field secretaries directed by Gloster B. Current, as well as other staff personnel, will assist the state committees and the local branches in organizing their drives.

In most of the 326 cities, from Massachusetts to California, the drive was launched on a Sunday with mass meetings and appeals from the pulpits of churches of all denominations. In many cities, teams have been organized for door-to-door canvassing. Appeals for membership are being made in the press and over the radio in a number of communities. Elsewhere, sound trucks are being used to rally support at street-corner and other outdoor meetings. The national office has prepared a series of leaflets for mass distribution.

Each branch has a goal which it is striving to surpass. Typical of the quotas that have been agreed upon are the following: Charlotte, N. C., 1,000; Norfolk, Va., 7,500; Pittsburgh, 5,000; Kansas City, Mo., 7,500; Knoxville, Tenn., 5,000; New Orleans, 7,500; Indianapolis, 1,500; West Palm Beach, Fla., 500; Philadelphia, 15,000; Atlanta, 5,000; and Detroit, 25,000. The campaign is not confined to the major cities. It includes many small towns and rural areas where branches are organized on a country-wide basis.

LEGAL

Appeal Life Sentences: The new sentences on life imprisonment for Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons will be appealed to the Supreme Court of Georgia.

The death sentence which previously had been imposed on the trio for the self-defense slaying of a neighboring white farmer in Schley county, Georgia, was vacated on April 6 by Judge Willim M. Harper of Americus, Ga., following argument by NAACP lawyers on March 25 on a motion for a new trial. The motion was denied and the life sentences imposed.

Mrs. Ingram, the widowed mother of twelve children, and her two sons were convicted by an all-white jury in a one-day trial on February 3. The slain man, John E. Stratford, was killed on

November 4, 1947, in a struggle which followed an argument with Mrs. Ingram about some of her stock which had strayed across the line onto the land farmed by Stratford. The Ingram boys came to the rescue of their mother. The death, they claimed was justifiable homicide in self-defense .

A total of $15,853.50 for the defense of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons has been received to date. The monies represent the total amount received by the national office and does not include funds sent to the Americus, Georgia, branch. The bulk of the money came from 117 branches, which contributed $13,094.25. Thirty-two organizations—civic, social, labor, religious and political—contributed $1,083.78. From churches all over the country came $800.18. The remaining $875.29 was contributed by individuals.

Review Case: The United States Supreme Court heard arguments during the week of April 26 in the case of Samuel Taylor, 20, convicted of rape by an Alabama jury and condemned to death. A review of the judgment of the Alabama Supreme Court, which confirmed the death sentence, was granted by the U. S. Supreme Court April 5 in response to a petition filed by attorneys for the NAACP.

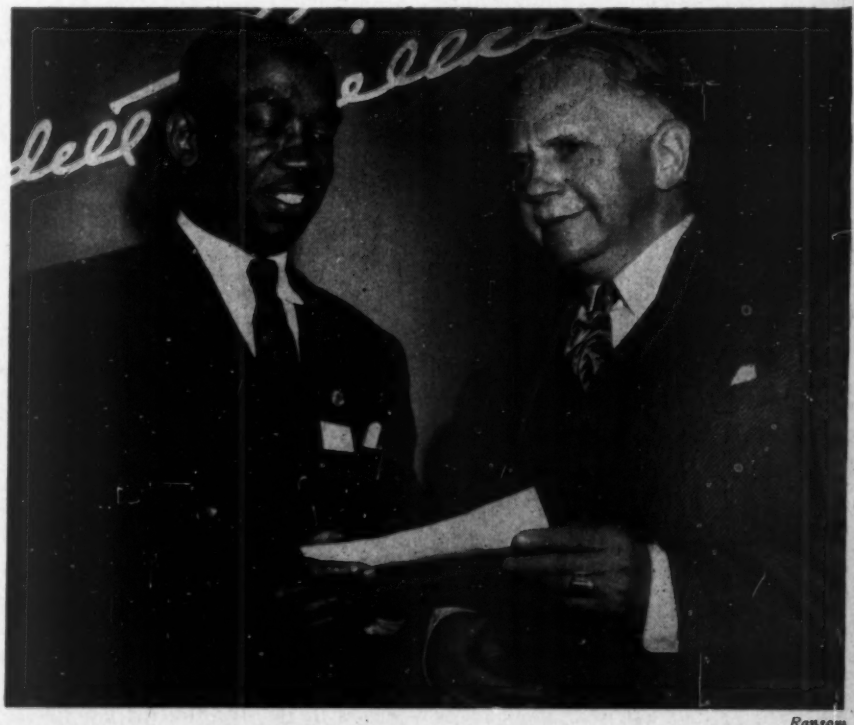
The petition charged that Taylor's conviction was obtained through the use of a confession extorted by force, violence, and fear in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Arrested with three other youths in the small town of Prichard, Alabama, Taylor was charged with the rape of a 14-year-old white girl. He was convicted by the Circuit Court of Mobile county nearly two years ago.

GIFTS

NAACP Beneficiary: The NAACP has been named beneficiary in the estate of Eleonora M. Morrow of Lexington, Ky. Mrs. Morrow died in September, 1947, leaving ten percent of the residue of her estate to the NAACP. According to the inventory filed in Lafayette county court by the executor, the First National Bank and Trust Company of Lexington, this estate will total approximately $8,725.

Rejects $237,500 "Gift": In a sharply worded letter to Governor Millard F. Caldwell of Florida, Harry T. Moore, executive secretary of the State Conference of NAACP Branches, informed the chief executive of the state that Florida Negroes would not consider as a "gift" his proffer of $237,500 to the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College at Tallahassee.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY *Walter White accepts a $500 NAACP life membership from Dr. J. M. Davis of Fuquay Springs, N. C., during the southeastern leadership training conference held at Tuskegee Institute, Ala., March 20-21. Dr. Joseph A Berry, president of the Tuskegee branch, stands behind Dr. Davis.*



Ransom

PRESIDENT *M. J. Baker, Jr., of the New Haven, Conn., branch presents Walter White his branch's contribution of $156.20 to the Ingram defense fund during the eastern regional training conference, April 10, New York City.*

Ransom

TRAINING CONFERENCE—*Four delegates discuss conference topics with executive secretary Walter White at the eastern regional training conference held on April 10, 1948, in the Wendell Willkie memorial building, New York City. They are (L-R) Milton Brown, executive secretary, Baltimore, Md., branch; Mrs. Jeanne Scott, president, Pittsburgh, Pa., branch; Walter White; Grace Bryant, membership-secretary, Wilmington, Del., branch; and Charles Lewis, president, Boston, Mass., youth council.*

The governor was awarded the sum as damages in a libel suit against *Collier's* as the result of editorial censure of his alleged statements and lack of effective action in the lynching of Jesse James Payne in Madison county two years ago. At the time he filed suit against the magazine, the governor promised to give any sum awarded to him to the state college for Negroes.

Criticizing Governor Caldwell for his failure to suspend the sheriff, Mr. Moore further asserted: "We wish to make it clear that we shall not consider this as a gift to the Negroes of Florida. Florida A. and M. College is a state-supported institution. The support and development of this school is the responsibility of the state of Florida. If Florida A. and M. College is not getting sufficient financial support to make it measure up to the standards maintained at the University of Florida at Gainesville and the Florida State University at Tallahassee, it is the fault of our state government, and not the responsibility of Florida Negro citizens. Therefore, any money that you give will be a contribution to our state government, and not a gift to the Negroes of Florida. We wish also to emphasis the fact that such a gift will not soothe the wounded feelings of Florida Negro citizens. We are still disappointed because of your failure to take effective action in the Payne lynching."

NEW YORK CITY

Meeting in New York: More than 200 delegates from branches of the NAACP in nine eastern states assembled in New York City April 10 for a regional training conference. States represented at the meeting were Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia.

NAACP objectives for 1948 were discussed by various staff members. Leslie Perry outlined a program of non-partisan political action for this important election year; Jesse Dedmon discussed segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Other phases of the NAACP program were described by Henry Lee Moon, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Clarence Mitchell, Miss Lucille Black, Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry, and Roy Wilkins.

Newbold Morris Named to Board: Newbold Morris, former president of the New York City Council, has been named a member of the board of directors of the NAACP to fill the vacancy created by the death of the late Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia. Mr. Morris, who in 1945 was the mayorality candidate of the No Deal Party in New York, has long been active in interracial and welfare organizations.

What the Branches Are Doing

FLORIDA: In appreciation of Noah W. Griffin's work in organizing the Florida state conference of NAACP branches and his fight to secure the equalization of teachers' salaries in that state, the Progressive Voters League of Florida honored him April 16 with a "Noah W. Griffin Day." Mr. Griffin is now West Coast regional director of the NAACP.

GEORGIA: The AMERICUS branch held a "help save the Ingrams" mass meeting April 4 in the St. John's AME church, with speeches by Gloster B. Current and Marion Bond, both of the national office.

ILLINOIS: Kick-off meeting of the TRI-CITY branch was held March 22 at the Wayman AME church, Rock Island, with approximately thirty persons in attendance. Officers of the branch are Leon R. Harris, president; Mrs. Josephine Newborn, first vice-president; Charles Golden, second vice-president; Wm. Bishop, third vice-president; Mrs. Russell Smith, secretary; Mrs. Gertrude Harris, assistant secretary; and Mrs. Elizabeth Golden, treasurer.

Two cases of discrimination against Negroes by restaurants in the Tri-City area have been recently reported to the legal redress committee, but they were not investigated because the persons discriminated against were too late in reporting the incidents and showed little desire to help in prosecution of the cases.

INDIANA: On March 17 the FORT WAYNE branch held a reception for Dorothy Maynor upon conclusion of her two-night engagement with the Philharmonic orchestra. About 125 people were in attendance.

Membership in the INDIANAPOLIS branch was raised from 700 to 2,750 in the branch's annual membership campaign, which was held during the month of March. The Indianapolis campaign was part of the NAACP's nationwide Spring membership drive.

The branch membership was divided into eighteen teams during the drive, which was conducted by assistant field secretary Rufus Smith. Team Number 1, captained by Mrs. Ollie Weeks, won first honors with 350 new members. Team Number 8, with Jesse Carter as captain, came in second with 300. Certificates of merit were awarded to thirteen campaigners who solicited at least fifty members. Commendation awards were presented to the co-chairmen of the campaign, D. W. D. Hector and Wilson Head, and to Charles K. Harris, treasurer. Special tribute was paid to the churches and public schools of Indianapolis for their excellent cooperation in securing memberships.

NEW JERSEY: The LONG BRANCH unit launched an all-out drive on March 17 to educate the Negro populace in the intelligent use of the ballot as well as a war upon all politicians who seek public office through the buying and selling of votes.

NEW YORK: A lively forum was conducted by the MAMARONECK branch on April 2 to discuss recent events in Albany, Washington, and Mamaroneck. Speakers were Theodore Leskes, of the committee for the state educational legislation, who spoke on the Albany scene; Marian Perry, assistant special counsel, national office, the Washington scene; and Benjamin Morrell, president Mamaroneck branch, the local scene. Entertainment was furnished by Sammy Hayward, guitarist and folk-song singer.

In NEW ROCHELLE the branch conducted a city-wide protest rally centered around the Ingram case. This branch also maintains an active scholarship fund and each year some deserving student is thereby helped to get a college education.

OHIO: The executive board of the CLEVELAND branch has voted a contribution to the Ingram defense fund. Three fund-raising mass meetings have already been planned by the Ingram defense committee.

Elmer Carter, a member of the New York state commission against discrimination (SCAD), spoke to the branch in the Antioch Baptist church April 18 upon the success of the New York anti-discrimination job law. This meeting was held in connection with the effort of the branch to secure support for an FEPC ordinance now before the legislative committee of the Cleveland city council.

The branch legal committee has already finished plans for a suit to be filed in the Elmer Thompson case involving Mr. Thompson's inability to secure enrollment in the Cleveland trade school. Lawyers in the case are Ermer L. Watson, Charles W. Quick, George V. Johnson, and Representative William B. Saunders. The executive committee has already approved the filing of mandamus proceedings against the Cleveland board of education. Mr. Thompson is qualified, certified, and willing and able to pursue his courses in the trade schol, but the board of education has made his entrance impossible by relinquishing its authority to an outside group which refuses to admit Negro students.

The OHIO STATE CONFERENCE of NAACP branches launched an investigation of segregation as practiced in Ohio penal and correctional institutions, on March 11, 1948, at Columbus, Ohio. L. Pearl Mitchell, state board director headed a committee assigned by the conference to meet with welfare director Charles L. Sherwood, to which Colonel Harold L. Hays, superintendent of Lancaster Boys Industrial School was invited.

Director Sherwood and Col. Hays frankly admitted that housing facilities in the Ohio industrial school were "segregated on the basis of race." "This practice," they stated, "has been historically and traditionally a regular part of the practices in penal institutions under the jurisdiction of the Ohio Welfare Department, but that *no state law* supported this practice."

In answer to the question as to why colored boys eat at separate tables, they stated "that since Negroes were separated by cottages, it necessarily followed that there was similar segregation in the common dining room." Both officials hastened to add, however, "that the colored boys received the same food." No valid reason was given by these Ohio administrators for perpetuating the segregation practices in housing and eating accommodation, except their statement that "this pattern has been carried out since 1857"—since pre-Civil War days.

Director Sherwood admitted that inmates of the institutions under his supervision were divided on a basis of race only in housing. There were no separations on the basis of religion, nationality, offences, age or mental groupings. He further stated that the power to determine policy was vested in him, that Governor Herbert could but does not make recommendations to his department as to policy and practices, and that no statute in the Ohio General Code upholds the jim-crow pattern employed by state officials.

Both Col. Hays and director Sherwood stated "that the existing conditions were in evidence when we came to the department and in our opinion would necessitate a change in our social order if abolished." Col. Hays said, "We feel the segregated housing system best for preparing boys to go back into their communities."

OKLAHOMA: The BRISTOW branch is working hard to secure its membership quota in the national membership drive. Newly elected officers of the branch are Frank Barnes, president; C. Oliver, vice-president; S. G. Ashley, secretary; and O. B. Combs, treasurer.

"A Sixteen-Year Fight For Justice" is the title of a leaflet coming to us from the OKLAHOMA CITY branch. Some excerpts follow:

The Oklahoma conference of branches. NAACP, was sixteen years old when its annual meeting was held in Idabel last November, and during those sixteen years it has gone a long way in the fight for democracy and civil liberty in the "Sooner" state.

During the sixteen years of its existence, the conference has taken legal cases to the Supreme Court of the United States five times with questions having to do with the constitutional rights of Negroes, and in three of these cases signal victories were won:

The Jess Hollins case in 1931, emanating from Creek county; the ballot fight for I. W. Lane, of Red Bird, in 1932; and the Ada Lois Sipuel-Fisher case recently won in the U. S. Supreme Court, and the Emma Lee Freeman case now in process of adjustment.

We might go on and on to tell you of the valiant fight Negroes in the 87 branches of Oklahoma have made against police brutality, zoning laws, civic improvements, secondary education, and in the recent war the fight for the right to fight for this nation. Along the entire length and breadth of the civil liberty front the Oklahoma Conference of Branches, NAACP, during the past sixteen years has been fighting for a more ideal Oklahoma.

TENNESSEE: Kick-off meeting of the MEMPHIS branch was held February 29 at the Mississippi Avenue Christian church. The number of memberships reported at this meeting exceeded those reported at any previous kick-off meeting.

VIRGINIA: The "NAACP at work in Norfolk" is the title of a leaflet issued by the NORFOLK branch as a part of its current membership drive. Among the achievements listed by the branch are the following: Getting the city manager to recommend appropriations

Ransom

A CELEBRATION *in honor of the 70th birthday of NAACP president Arthur B. Spingarn was sponsored by the NAACP staff and board of directors on April 12 in the Wendell Willkie memorial building, New York City. Dr. Louis T. Wright (left), chairman of the NAACP board of directors, presents Mr. Spingarn (center) a terra cotta head of a Zulu woman done by sculptor Richmond Berthé (right). Mrs. Spingarn stands at her husband's left.*

for additional school buildings; getting Church street merchants to employ Negro clerks and several other local concerns to agree to employ qualified Negroes; joining with other local organizations in a survey of the housing needs of the community; waging an intensive "register and vote" campaign; presenting bound copies of *To Secure These Rights* to members of the Norfolk city council; securing release of William Watts, wrongly accused and illegally detained in jail for a year for alleged rape of a white woman; and successful handling of two reported cases of police brutality.

What the Regions Are Doing

CALIFORNIA: "D-day in the Fight for Freedom" was the subject of an address March 14 by Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, prominent San Francisco physician and president of the San Francisco branch, delivered before the members of the SANTA CLARA COUNTY branch.

The branch also held a "Freedom is Everybody's Job" program in the civic auditorium in March, with Scott Weakley of Oakland as the principal speaker. The youth council choir and drum corp provided the musical program.

The WEST COAST REGIONAL CONFERENCE held its second annual conference in Los Angeles March 5-7 with the Los Angeles branch acting as host. Over one hundred delegates were present from Region I, which includes the states of Arizona, California, Idaho, Neveda, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and the Territory of Hawaii.

The closing session on Sunday afternoon, March 7, at the Second Baptist church, was a huge mass meeting attended by 2500 people who listened to addresses by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, NAACP, and Gloster Current, director of branches.

Among the resolutions adopted by the conference were the following:

Monroe

PRESENTATION *of a gift to Dr. M. R. Clarke, retiring president of the Dayton, Ohio, branch, by Mrs. Ethel Prear, member of the executive committee, as an expression of the branch's appreciation of his militant and able leadership.*

THE LOGAN BANNER, Logan, West Virginia, Friday, April 2, 1948

A MESSAGE TO NEGRO CITIZENS

"The right of Citizens of the United States to Vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

SECTION 1, XV AMENDMENT - THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)

THIS GIVES YOU THE RIGHT TO VOTE!

Are You Using This Right?
Are You A Good Citizen?

A GOOD CITIZEN IS A VOTING CITIZEN!

SOME IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT VOTING:

1. If you will be 21 years of age by November 2, 1948, you are eligible to vote in the May Primary.
2. If you will have lived in West Virginia 1 year by November 2, 1948, you are eligible to vote in the May Primary.
3. In order to vote, you must be registered!
4. If you have moved from the precinct in which you lived during the last election, you must transfer your registration to the precinct in which you are now living.

The Registrars will sit in the different precincts, 9 a. m. to 5 p. m. Saturday, April 3rd, or you may register at the Logan County Courthouse until 4:30 p. m. Saturday, April 10th.

Please Register and Vote! Remember - A Voteless Citizen Is A Hopeless Citizen!

TUNE IN WLOG, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 6:15 P. M.

Sponsored By The Logan Branch Of The NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE.

ITS PURPOSES

1. To educate America to accord full rights and opportunities to negroes.
2. To fight injustice in Courts when biased on race prejudice.
3. To pass protective legislation in State and Nation and defeat discriminatory bills.
4. To secure the vote for Negroes and Teach its proper use.
5. To stimulate the cultural life of Negroes.
6. To stop lynching.

HERE IS ONE WAY *to get out the vote. This full page advertisement was taken out in* THE LOGAN BANNER, *Logan, West Virginia, April 2, 1948, by the Logan branch of the NAACP.*

A resolution to lend support and financial aid to defend Mrs. Ingram and her children; Extension of appreciation to community press for splendid cooperation in publicizing conference, with special appreciation to the Los Angeles *Sentinel* and Leon Washington for excellent publicity; Opposition to the present policy of segregating units of the National Guard and advocacy of integration of all citizens without regard to race, color, creed or national origin; Passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner general housing bill, S. 866, and continuation of rent controls until housing conditions are improved; Instruction to regional office to establish a legal advisory committee for the region; Enactment of anti-poll tax legislation at this session of Congress; Abolition of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces; Opposition to any change in the method of electing members of the national board of directors that would deprive local branches of active participation in their selection; Passage of FEPC type legislation on local, state, and federal levels; Enactment of anti-lynching legislation; Endorsement of campaign of the Santa Monica branch against Sears Roebuck and condemnation of the discriminatory hiring policy of this store; and support of the National Farm Laborers Union in its California strike.

SOUTHWEST REGION: In attendance at the first regional conference in Pine Bluff in March were 102 duly registered delegates, representing all five states in the region. Visitors swelled the numbers at each session to about 175. The Hooks, Texas, branch sent 28 representatives in a charted bus. The public meeting Sunday afternoon drew a packed house, with more than 1000 persons crowding into the Merrill high school auditorium. Clarence Mitchell, NAACP labor secre-

tary from Washington, D. C., sketched a vivid picture of the Association's activity on the labor front. Professor M. B. Tolson of Langston, chairman of the regional speakers bureau, drove home point after point with typical Tolsonian effectiveness. And Attorney Maurice Weaver, of Chattanooga, who will take up his duties as regional special counsel here in the Southwest in late summer or early fall, electrified the house with a great speech.

The conference decided to take its second annual meeting, next year, to Alexandria, Louisiana, with the date left to the regional office.

POETIC JUSTICE: We just learned recently that when the McNair county (Baytown), Texas, branch was first organized the fear of the NAACP was so strong in that area that not a single church in Baytown would allow the branch to meet in its building. Since there was no other place to meet except churches, the determined officers and members of the branch dug down into their pockets and bought land and lumber, and together they built an NAACP meeting hall. Shortly afterwards, one of the bigger churches in town burned down. And so what happened? You guessed it. The branch granted permission to the church to use the NAACP meeting hall for services!

DISTRICT AND ZONE ORGANIZATION: We haven't said much about the district and zone organizational plan being put into operation in Texas because we wanted the plan to begin to develop before we did much talking. You will recall that under this system of organization the state is divided into 15 districts and 89 zones, with from 2 to 5 counties in each zone; and into each zone and district are being placed directors of branches and organizers. When we get the system in full operation, there will be 210 new officers on the field, trained to show branches how to operate to best advantage and to organize new branches.

"On the Beam" With Youth Councils

Unanimous opposition to universal military training was voiced by the 200 delegates attending the second annual youth legislative conference of the NAACP held at Howard university, March 31-April 3.

Expressing a deep sense of concern for the critical situations facing our nation at home and abroad, the Negro and white representatives of NAACP youth councils and college chapters in all parts of the country passed resolutions on several major issues confronting the United States today. The resolutions were made at the end of a conference during which the young people had seriously studied important legislative issues.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard, and Representatives John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Kenneth Keating (R., N. Y.) and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D., N. Y.) spoke at the conference sessions and urged Negro and white youth to take a firm stand in defense of their rights. Delegations from the conference visited Senator Scott Lucas (D., Ill.), Senator Kenneth Wherry (R., Neb.) and Speaker of the House Joseph Martin (R., Mass.), all of whom voiced their support of civil rights legislation. Other delegations visited Senators Harry Byrd and A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, demanding that they end their opposition to civil rights bills.

Fletcher

YOUTH LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE—*Congressman Kenneth B. Keating (R., N. Y.) addressing session of second annual youth legislative conference held in Washington, D. C., March 31-April 3. Seated (L-R), Loxie A. Williams, Congressman John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.), and Leslie Perry of the NAACP Washington Bureau.*

In a preface to its resolutions, the conference stated:

We, the representatives of 25,000 members of NAACP youth councils and college chapters in all sections of the country, feel a deep sense of concern for the critical situation facing our nation at home and abroad. We have witnessed the rising cost of living which has long since outstripped the income of the average wage earner. Freedom of expression and freedom of belief have been trampled upon, especially on college campuses. We have noted a sharp increase in anti-Negro sentiment, anti-Semitism and other forms of persecution against minority groups including native American Indians. It has been a source of shame to us that American Indians in certain states are forced to live in disease and squalor. There have been unremitting attempts on the part of certain powerful forces to weaken, and even destroy, the trade union movement. We deplore these conditions and urge the youth of the nation to do everything in their power to resist these trends.

The delegates declared themselves unalterably opposed to peace-time military training, since it is "unsound in principle" and permits segregation and discrimination in the armed services.

The conference called upon the youth of the nation to urge their congressmen and

Halbert

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS—*Thirty-ninth annual conference of the NAACP will be held June 22-27 in St. Stephen church, Kansas City, Missouri. Full seating capacity of the church, including all rooms and the main auditorium, is 5,000.*

DELEGATES *to the Tuskegee, Alabama, youth conference held March 20-21 at Tuskegee Institute.*

senators to reject the segregated regional college plan originated by fourteen southern governors and introduced in Congress by Senator Spessard L. Holland (D., Fla.).

President Truman was commended for his civil rights message to Congress on February 2, 1948. The conference also asked that the 80th Congress enact a minimum program of legislation, including enactment of FEPC, anti-lynching, and anti-poll-tax bills.

Book Reviews

NEGRO BUSINESS

***Negro Business and Business Education.* Joseph A. Pierce. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. XIV+338. $3.50.**

This reviewer, along with others in the field of business and business education, looked forward to the publication of *Negro Business and Business Education* with the expectation that it would provide the most complete, accurate, and timely information and analysis yet available on the subject. If this can be said of the present volume, it is an eloquent commentary on the dearth and inadequacy of literature in the field.

The study which resulted in *Negro Business and Business Education* was sponsored by one of our outstanding institutions of higher learning (Atlanta University) with the cooperation of twelve distinguished faculty members, and financed by a grant from the General Education Board. It collected detailed information, presumably (no sample questionnaires are presented in the published volume), from twelve cities ranging geographically from Baltimore and St. Louis to Houston and Savannah. It classified, analyzed, and presented these data through tables and otherwise. Obviously, the elements of a valuable study are here, and much of the resulting material should be helpful to students of the subject. But unfortunately the defects of the present volume obviate this possibility.

To begin with, validity—the *sine qua non* of any real statistical study—has been glossed over and even ignored in spots. There is apparently no doubt in the author's mind as to the reliability of the data he accepts uncritically (with a few notable exceptions), in spite of the fact that much of the selection of the sample is determined by such irrelevant factors as convenience to the participating colleges, extent of cooperation given by local supervisors, and personal factors influencing the latter, all of which may operate to make the sample atypical. Also (and the author recognizes this at least in the preface), the time covered by the study was one of unusual conditions in both business and education, so the application of the findings to a normal period must be made with at least grave reservations. Finally, statistical procedures used are in a number of places questionable.

For example, the questionnaire directed to forty graduates of business departments is not identified as to origin, content, or methodology; but in any event, the size of the sample could hardly warrant the weight attached to its results in this volume. Likewise, as regards the sample used to represent the Negro consumer, the author should remember that the burden of proof is upon him to show that 470 consumers can indeed be considered a fairly accurate guage of the habits and tastes of 15,000,000 Negroes (or even a tenth of that number). Certainly his burden is made heavier by the fact that the median income is $200.00 per month, a third are home owners, and in education and occupation they are also admittedly atypical.

There are a number of defects which mar the presentation of the findings, aside from small errors of rhetoric, form, and organization. There is sometimes loose thinking and short-sighted reasoning, such as the implication that Negro business men *choose* not to locate their enterprises in the central shopping district, when it is a matter of common knowledge that properties for sale or rent to Negroes in such locations are virtually non-

existent, especially in the Deep South.

Since this study purports to give results characteristic of "Negro" business, it would seem misleading to judge the results as a whole without resource to data on "white" businesses of comparable types and sizes. For example, the statement on page 202 that there is "an alarming condition in the educational status of the operators of Negro business" implies to the casual reader that the situation is worse than might be expected for similar business in general ("white" business). If this is so, how *much* worse off is the Negro? Is the difference statistically significant? These are questions which find no answers here.

The fact that the author's field is mathematics and statistics, rather than business, may account for his apparent reluctance to trust himself to make analyses or paraphrase comments of authors cited. At any rate, he resorts to direct quotations so frequently that the flow of his discourse is much the worse for the interruptions. Incidentally, while these direct quotations are always documented, the use of footnotes elsewhere is erratic, being overly meticulous in some cases and nonexistent in others.

It is to be hoped that the day will come when our Negro colleges and universities will cease to applaude enthusiastically substandard publications which could never be approved by any informed and impartial critic. Even now, it is most discouraging to see data, collected at such expense, so badly used that one dare not assume that it is reliable for any purpose whatsoever.

MABEL M. SMYTHE.

***Think on These Things.* By June Purcell Guild. Santa Barbara, California: Schauer Publishing Company, 1947. 75pp. $1.00.**

The author of this booklet has attempted with more missionary zeal than scientific interest to summarize the opinions of twenty-one "prominent" Negro citizens of Richmond, Virginia, on a number of aspects of race relations. It is no surprise to the reader to discover that there is nothing here that has not been said many times before. While the author is obviously a woman of good will, she is over-sentimental, making such frequent allusions to the Scriptures and to spirituals that the result is a tract rather than an objective study.

MABEL M. SMYTHE

HOUSING AGREEMENTS

***People vs. Property: Race Restrictive Covenants in Housing.* Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson. Nashville, Tennessee: Fisk University Press, 1947. Pp.IX+107. $1.00.**

At the time that this is written the nation at large, and minorities in particular are awaiting the decision of the United States Supreme Court on a case brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and supported by the federal goveriment and several civic organizations, testing the validity of race restrictive covenants in housing. Consequently, *People vs. Property* is a most timely tract. As the authors point out:

> In these times it is important to analyze more closely the nature and effects of these agreements, the forces which have brought them into existence and keep them in operation, and the social and legal principles involving public policy.

Briefly but specifically this monograph analytically demonstrates the effect of restrictive covenants on every vestige of community life, points out intensively their effect in Chicago and St. Louis, shows how neighborhood improvement associations work, points out the operation of real estate organizations and controls, discusses legal developments and public policy concerning these agreements and ways to overcome them, shows how the use of covenants is inconsistent with democratic practices and principles, and describes how riots and specific instances of housing restraints in various sections of the country indicate the racial tension and violence that result from these housing bans.

Perhaps an inadequacy of *People vs. Property* is its limited scope resulting from rather intensive concentration on the study of covenants in two northern cities where the problem of covenants has received widespread publicity. It would be helpful to know about these housing agreements in areas where Negroes and other minorities are "accepted" but expected to know "their place," such as in cities and towns of the Middle West and New England, in states like Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Utah. Are there instances of their inverse effectiveness and the consequences of such practices?

Although this is not a definitive work, it was not hastily put together. It represents the combined efforts of a number of qualified people working over a period of several years. It is well documented and illustrated with useful graphs, maps, and tables, so that the result is a volume that fits directly into a given concurrence of circumstances. It is an objective, readable, praiseworthy sociological tract of momentous practical significance.

HUGH H. SMYTHE.

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DISCUSSING *ways and means of raising funds for the Ingram defense (L-R) Rev. Wm. H. Borders, vice-president Atlanta branch; Daniel E. Byrd, assistant field secretary; and C. L. Harper, president Atlanta branch.*

Fletcher

PRESIDENT MORDECAI W. JOHNSON of *Howard university addressing the second annual legislative youth conference, Washington, D. C.*

***Understanding Society: The Principles of Dynamic Sociology.* Howard W. Odum. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1947. VI+749pp. $5.00.**

In a world beset by problems that seem to threaten the very existence of mankind, Howard W. Odum, one of America's most eminent sociologists, has produced a helpful volume on understanding society for the beginning sociological student in particular, and others in general, that is really a remarkable book.

As an introductory textbook in sociology for the contemporary student it leaves little to be desired. Its technical form is good, it is scholarly, clear, precise but non esoteric in style, and it is sound, objective, critical, current, and complete in content. If teachers of introductory courses in sociology approach the matter of selecting a textbook without bias for volumes because of personal relationship with authors, previous use, or are freed from official limitations, *Understanding Society* should become one of the most widely used sociology texts of its kind in the American system of higher education.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

Justice Sleeps

(Continued from page 143)

the steadily mounting protest, with the statement that the evidence was purely circumstantial. What he neglected to add, was that the greatest single circumstance was the fact that the Ingrams were black. And the crime connected with the Ingram case, and there was monstrous crime involved, has not only to do with the law forces of Schley county—it has to do with every one of us who does not in great measure bend our energies and resources (yes, money!) to fight this evil and its component parts everywhere.

College News

(Continued from page 135)

ings, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists was opened April 4 with an address by James A. Porter, a member of the art department of Howard university. Annual spring concert of the musical organizations of the university system was given in Sisters chapel of Spelman April 9. Of special significance was presentation on the program of the works of six well-known Negro composers: Coleridge-Taylor, Will Marion Cook, Nathaniel Dett, Hall Johnson, and William Dawson.

Nationally known specialists in family counselling were present at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE March 17-19 to participate in the third annual institute on building for a successful marriage and family living sponsored by the college and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Among the speakers were Dr. Abraham Stone, noted psychiatrist; Mrs. Gladys H. Groves, director of the marriage and family life counsel of Chapel Hill, N. C.; Mrs. Toki Schalk Johnson, woman's editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier;* William M. Cooper, director of the division of extension, Hampton institute; Mrs. Marie S. Key, formerly of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Kathryn L. Johnson of Miles college; Mrs. Frances Dwyer, of the Atlanta Legal Aid Society; Rev. Homer McEwen, of Atlanta; Dorothy Ury, Georgia health consultant for Negro schools; and Dr. Lawrence F. Wooley, Atlanta psychiatrist.

AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE (Greensboro, N. C.) sponsored its first annual leadership school in March, an institute designed to afford representatives of campus organizations an opportunity to become acquainted with proper techniques in social, vocational, and recreational leadership.

Among recent events at the college have been the following: an address by LeRoy W. Jeffries, of the National Urban League; first annual flower show, April 8-10; and a concert by violinist David Rubinoff.

James O. Hopson of TALLADEGA COLLEGE was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy at the mid-year convocation of the University of Pittsburgh. Subject of Dr. Hopson's dissertation is "Attitudes Toward the Negro as an Expression of English Romanticism."

Lemoyne College
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
1870 1948
The curriculum of LeMoyne College is designed to give students a broad general education plus specialized training which will enable them to work toward and live in an emerging democracy. "A" rated by the Southern Association.
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HOLLIS F. PRICE, *President*
MARGARET BUSH, *Registrar*

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Write to
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LINCOLN UNIVERSITY,
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

Negroes and Draft

(Continued from page 140)

not playing the Communist game or being stooges for a strategy not their own, have talked out so clearly and unmistakably on so fateful an issue. I know that there are many other Negro leaders who feel that this goes much too far, and who regard the Randolph-Reynolds statement as a mistake. Yet I think there can be no question that Randolph and Reynolds come closer to the true feeling of the masses of American Negroes, in the North as in the South, than their more cautious and circumspect colleagues.

Something Has Happened That Will Have to Be Reckoned With

Something has happened to the American Negro in the era of the New Deal and of World War II, and it is

something that will have to be reckoned with by those who are measuring forces in World War III. They have found a moral and political principle that can only be expressed in the words Thomas Wolfe once used: a principle

Whereon the pillars of this earth are founded,
Toward which the conscience of the world is tending—
A wind is rising, and the rivers flow

That principle is, of course, the principle of a democracy which is not qualified by race or color or any other stupid irrelevance. It is idle to point to the undoubted fact that the position of the American Negro is slowly improving, that the injustice to him is being diluted, that the lynchings are fewer, that the discriminations are slowly being whittled away. You cannot answer a plea for equality by a half-inequality; you cannot answer a demand for justice by meting out injustice somewhat more carefully. Equality is a passion that feeds on itself. The taste of democracy becomes a bitter taste when the fulness of democracy is denied. That bitterness has been increased by the hypocrisy we have shown in fighting racism abroad while we tolerate it at home. It has been increased by the experience our Negro GIs had when they were sent abroad, and found there were countries in which they were treated as human equals, and where the black badge of color did not blot out the red badge of courage. Democracy makes many claims, and talks very loudly about itself. It must also face the music, and pay the reckoning.

How Randolph Answered Civil Disobedience Question

When Sen. Morse asked Randolph whether he would advocate mass civil disobedience if the Russians should attack us, Randolph's answer was a good one. He said there was still plenty of time for Congress to attack Jim Crow in the armed services before the Russians attack us. The whole idea of a Russian attack is under present conditions fantastic, and the tension of our relations with Russia has been used much too often to obscure issues of democracy as well as of peace.

I can add another answer to the one Randolph gave. The threat of civil disobience undoubtedly weakens the military front we present to Russia; but what weakens us far more is the fact of rascist discrimination. What the generals and Congressmen don't know—and even a liberal like Sen. Morse does not seem to know it—is that in its deepest sense World War III will be fought out all over the world as an ideological war. It is a naked struggle for power, but the weapons with which it will be fought will be ideological weapons.

And in such a struggle one of the real enemies within is Jim Crow. It is Jim Crow who will be committing treason, who has already committed treason. Think that over, Senators and generals. Know the true enemies of democracy.

—MAX LERNER

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The Southern Revolt

(*Continued from page* 139)

Democrats to bargain for its support. Some day the South will reach this stage, as a liberal movement has already begun in the region. In colleges, churches, and unions white southerners are increasingly recognizing that democracy is incompatible with racial discrimination and stating that the political leaders of the region are a retarding influence. The southern liberal movement is now in its early stages, however, and it is virtually certain that the region will not have an effective two-party set-up in the 1948 presidential election.

Possible Southern Strategy

Although the Southern Democrats will not bolt their national party this year, they will be unruly and recalcitrant members of it.

Prior to the national convention, Dixie politicians will speak rebelliously and threaten turnabout tactics. Unsegregated party powwows, especially those where food is served, will be boycotted by racists below the Mason-Dixon Line. Some southern Democratic governors will hold conferences and bellow threats of seccession or withdrawal of support. A few state legislatures and state committees might even call rump conventions. Both before and after the national convention every possible parliamentary weapon, including the time-honored but obsolescent filibuster, will be employed to halt or delay the passage of antidiscrimination bills. As a matter of fact, a standing guard of 21 southern senators under the generalship of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia is reportedly alerted to resist any move to bring civil-rights bills to the floor.

At the National Democratic Convention an attempt will probably be made to restore the old two-thirds rule which used to give southern politicians a kind of veto power over any presidential nominee. It is also possible that the concession of a southern vice-presidential nominee will be demanded; but it is virtually certain that Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia or any other standard-bearer satisfactory to Dixie politicians would be anathema to voters in other sections of the country. An effort will doubtless be undertaken, moreover, to persuade the national party to draft a platform that will be innocuous to inflammable sensibilities. To yield on this point, however, would prevent any union, liberal, and minority-group voters from supporting the Democratic ticket.

If Mr. Truman is nominated, he will surely have rough sledding. Some southern delegations might walk out when his name is proposed. There would be threats to withhold electoral votes or to cast them for a Southerner in the hope of throwing the election into the House of Representatives, where each state would have but one vote. Before any step risking folly and disaster is taken, however, southern solons will board the national Democratic band wagon. When the chips are down the Bourbon bullies will prefer Mr. Truman to a Republican in the White House. They would not relish the double onus of losing their political power and insuring the downfall of the Democratic party.

Third Party Threat

If the National Democratic party can endure the din and dissidence of its reactionary wing until November, it will doubtless be able to weather the storm now raging in the South.

A much more difficult problem, however, is the secession under the leadership of Mr. Wallace and his running mate, Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho. The Wallace-Taylor ticket may attract enough ballots from the Democrats to throw the 47 electoral votes of New York into the Republican column and to lessen Democratic chances of success in Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, California, and Washington.

While Democratic chieftains ponder the outcome of the defection of the Wallace group and the southern racists, Republican leaders chuckle with inward satisfaction over the fission that has split the Democrats into three unfriendly factions. The brows of G. O. P. quarterbacks are hardly furrowed with worry as a result of the April Gallup Poll indicating that many southern white voters, responding to the social hysteria created by their governors and congressmen, now oppose the administration's civil-rights program because it allegedly endorses racial equality, interferes with state rights, caters to northern minorities, and disregards the traditions and in-

stitutions of the South. Republican strategists may also see a similarity between the present Democratic dilemma over civil rights and that of 1860 over slavery. The 1860 fiasco caused a three-way cleavage which brought about the election of Abraham Lincoln, who won by polling only forty per cent of the poular vote while his three Democratic opponents were dividing the remaining sixty per cent.

At present the Republican game is to emasculate Democratic unity by pushing forward civil-rights measures which parallel several of the Truman proposals. For example, on March 2, over the protest of Southern Democrats, the House Judiciary Committee reported by a majority of eighteen to eight an antilynching bill which would make mob violence a federal offense. An FEPC measure and an anti-poll tax bill had previously received committee approval in the Senate. While sponsoring civil-rights legislation, Republicans are also citing their traditional solicitude for the welfare of the Negro group.

Some Republicans feel that the current furore over civil rights would make Mr. Truman one of the most decisively defeated presidential candidates in American history, no matter what the international situation might become. Senator Edward J. Thye of Minnesota submits that Mr. Truman is "the easiest man to beat."

Truman Stands Pat

Despite the most vociferous outcry against a White House incumbent since insurgent Republicans sought to deny the renomination of President Taft in 1912, Mr. Truman has held his ground and retained a semblance of serenity. Demands have been made of the President for a modified civil-rights stand, many southern politicians have flatly asked him to take his hat out of the ring, some party leaders have publicly vowed to withdraw their support, and an intensive campaign has been undertaken to draft General Dwight Eisenhower as a compromise candidate to restore party harmony. Nevertheless, Mr. Truman has stood firm and refused to retire from the race.

The recent $100-per-plate Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington affords a good illustration of Mr. Truman's inclination to stand pat on his civil-rights pronouncements. Because Negroes attended this affair without segregation, certain peeved racists, like Representative Williams of Mississippi, shunned the dinner to participate in gatherings where "white supremacy is the order and segregation the rule." Conspicuous near the speaker's microphone was the empty table reserved by Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina. In this tense Mayflower setting, nevertheless, Mr. Truman made a speech which inferentially reiterated his position on civil rights.

After formally announcing his candidacy on March 8 for a four-year term in the White House, Mr. Truman again made no move to qualify his civil-rights statement. Speaking for the Chief Executive on the next day, Senator McGrath said: "I talked to the President with respect to his civil rights message. The President's position remains unchanged since he delivered that message."

In a tête-à-tête at the White House on March 12 with Mrs. Lennard Thomas, national Democratic committeewoman from Alabama, Mr. Truman was once more unyielding. With reference to civil rights he politely told his guest: "I do not take back one word of what I have said."

On April 2 at William and Mary College, where he appeared on the same platform with Governor Tuck of Virginia, the President again declined to alter his civil-rights stand.

The plain truth is that Mr. Truman cannot conveniently shift his position prior to election time. Since the 1944 Democratic national platform itself contains a strong endorsement of human liberties, a revision by Mr. Truman of his proposals would immediately result in the loss of thousands of important votes to the Republicans and the Third party. A modification of position, however, would cause a loss of national prestige for Mr. Truman, who now holds the distinction of being the first president of the United States to make a frontal attack on prejudice and to ask for specific legislation to guarantee civil rights for the underprivileged citizens of the nation.

Negro Voters Await Developments

In the midst of the civil rights hubbub the disposition of many Negro voters is to remain nonpartisan until the issuance of the platforms of parties and the declaration of candidates. The guidance for Negro voters in this policy is largely being initiated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, itself a nonpartisan agency. In late March, for example, the NAACP called a conference of Negro leaders of twenty national organizations to prepare a nonpartisan statement for Negro voters in the 1948 political campaign. It might be added that such a statement was drafted in 1944, with the result that parts of it were later incorporated in the platforms of both major parties.

The opposition to Mr. Truman's civil-rights measures by racial reactionaries has made Negro voters actually aware of the issues involved and of the power of their ballots in determining the outcome of the November election especially in the key industrial states of the North.

There is no question that the President's civil-rights recommendations were heartening to the Negroes of the country. The Gallup Poll for April indicates that 61 per cent of the Negro voting population had heard or read of Mr. Truman's proposals and that of this group 58 per cent endorses enactment of the program. It is certain that the abandonment of a civil-rights platform by any presidential nominee would immediately drive away Negro voters by the thousands.

Implications of Revolt

The discrepancy between our democratic ideals and actions, as manifested in the southern revolt, is producing a malignant growth which is not only regional and national but also world-wide in its virulent effects. What the Dixie politicians are doing is to weaken our international role as a champion of Christianity and democracy. During an ideological war in which prejudice, disfranchisement, and lynching are used as weapons against us, southern governors and congressmen are staging the shameful spectacle of agitating for a government which tolerates discrimination, fraud, and mob violence. Watching the trickery and treachery of our southern politicians, the people of the world—and particularly the darker folk who constitute two-thirds of the earth's population—can hardly help suspecting that our version of democracy is basically a cloak of white supremacy. Such stratagems as Governor Tuck's plan for persecuting a President and subverting the democratic process make it difficult for foreigners to distinguish between what is happening in the South and what has taken place in Czechoslovakia.

The southern revolt thus becomes a serious matter involving moral considerations just as important as those related to the use of the atomic bomb. The effort of Dixie die-hards to turn back the clock on American democracy is placing the South and the country in an embarrasing position. The ultimate result may indeed be tragic if the American people fail to renounce those southern politicians who have become public nuisances in this crucial period when mankind is being asked to choose between the democratic and Communistic ways of life.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

W. Harold Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 919

J. R. Booker
Century Building, Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

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129 West Third St., Los Angeles 13
Telephone: Vandike 1764

Vaughns & Berkley
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Telephone: TWinoaks 9688

Matthews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews — David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9739—ADams 1-6712

James T. Phillips
33 W. Mountain St., Pasadena 3
Telephone: Sycamore 7-4124

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36 Park Row, Stamford
Telephone: Stamford 3-7037

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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Telephones: ADams 8497 & DEcatur 1280

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428 Herndon Bldg., Atlanta 3
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Thomas J. Henry
208 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta
Telephone: Lamar 4710

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Brown, Brown, Cyrus & Greene
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Telephone: ATlanta 8800

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180 W. Washington St., Chicago 2
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Robert E. Bryant
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Telephone: CALumet 1014

Ellis & Westbrooks
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Telephone: CALumet 4968—4969

William Henry Huff
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Telephone: 32533

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4256 Russell St., Detroit 7
Telephone: Terrace 2-1934

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1003 Lawyer's Bldg.
139 Cadillac Sq., Detroit 26
Telephone: Cadillac 2176

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Ave., Grand Rapids 2
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Telephone: MArket 3-4709

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Telephone: MArket 3-1779

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Telephone: WAdsworth 6-9207
and
84 Altona, St. Thomas
Charlotte Amalie,
V. I., U. S. A.

John N. Griggs, Jr.
1 West 125th St., New York 27
Telephone: LEhigh 4-3134

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Telephone: HEnderson 4122

William H. Brooks
120 Hamilton Ave., Columbus 3

Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland 14
Telephone: MAin 1320

Chester K. Gillespie
406 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 14
Telephone: CHerry 1835

Artee Fleming
22 W. Market St., Akron 8
Telephone: HEmlock 6946

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908 Walnut St., Philadelphia 7
Telephone: Walnut 2-1042

Theodore Spaulding
154 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2
Telephone: LOcust 1317

TEXAS

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711 Prairie Ave., Houston 2
Office: F4895; Home: F0853

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Newport News
Telephone: 5-1974

L. Marian Poe
548—25th St., Newport News
Telephone: 2-1391

Reuben E. Lawson
403 Gainsboro Rd., N. W., Roanoke
Telephones: 9751 and 33250

Willmer F. Dillard
330 Gilmer Ave., N. W.
Roanoke 17
Telephone: 2-2608

R.H. Cooley, Jr.
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Telephone: 653

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J. M. Ellis
Oak Hill
Telephone: 257

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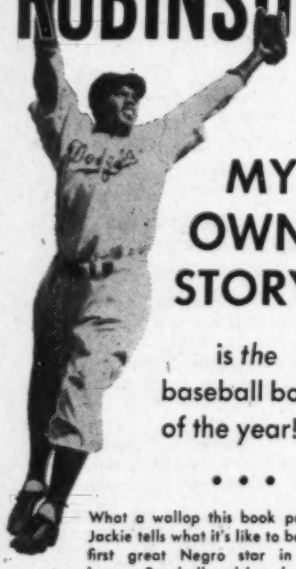

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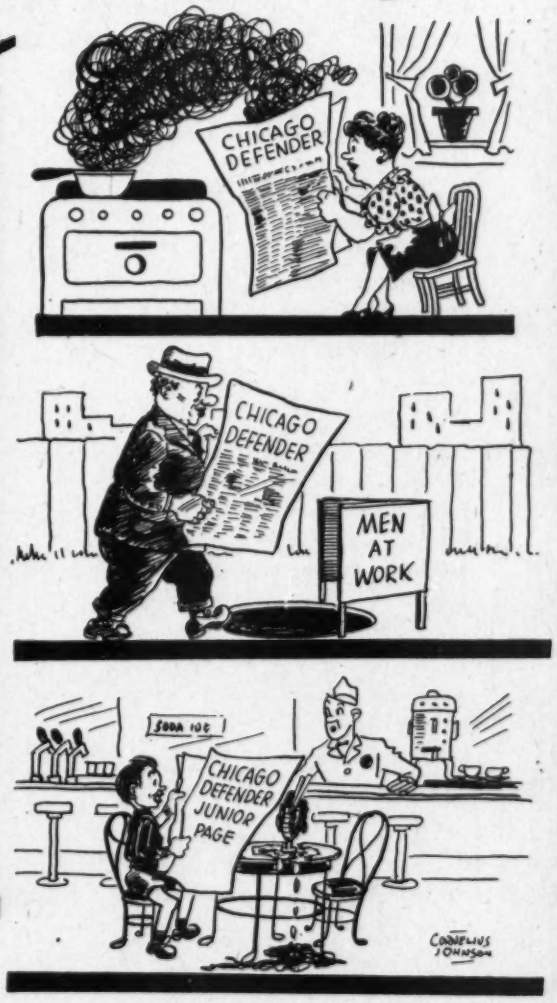

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Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc.

is pleased to present to readers of the CRISIS its 55th Annual Financial Statement

CONDENSED FINANCIAL ANNUAL STATEMENT
AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1947

ASSETS:		
Cash	(4.9%)	$ 106,075.69
Bonds (Amortized and Investment Value)	(48.0%)	1,043,857.83
Stocks	(5.1%)	109,700.00
Real Estate Mortgages	(29.2%)	631,395.24
Loans to Policyholders	(0.2%)	1,932.50
Real Estate	(11.3%)	245,548.46
Interest and Rents Due and Accrued	(0.5%)	10,416.19
Premiums in Course of Collection	(0.8%)	15,031.30
TOTAL	(100%)	$2,163,957.21

LIABILITIES:		
Legal Reserve on Outstanding Policies	(50.8%)	$1,098,721.27
Reserved for Unpaid Claims	(0.3%)	7,176.50
Premiums and Interest Paid in Advance	(1.2%)	25,449.47
Reserved for Taxes—Payable in 1948	(1.1%)	23,522.44
Miscellaneous Liabilities (Dividends, Emp. Dep., Taxes and Misc.)	(2.8%)	60,155.85
Special Reserve for Contingencies	(6.9%)	150,000.00
		$1,365,025.53

Additional Security to Policyholders:		
Capital	(6.9%)	$ 150,000.00
General Surplus	(30.0%)	648,931.68
TOTAL	(100%)	$2,163,957.21

TOTAL INSURANCE IN FORCE TO DEC. 31, 1947	$10,476,156.00
TOTAL CLAIMS PAID TO POLICYHOLDERS	$10,628,436.90

The 14th Annual National Negro Insurance Week Drive takes place May 10 through May 15, 1948. Fieldmen of fifty-five member companies of the Association solicit your full cooperation in obtaining the goal of $60,000,000.00 new insurance.

Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc.

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